

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE U.S.S.R.

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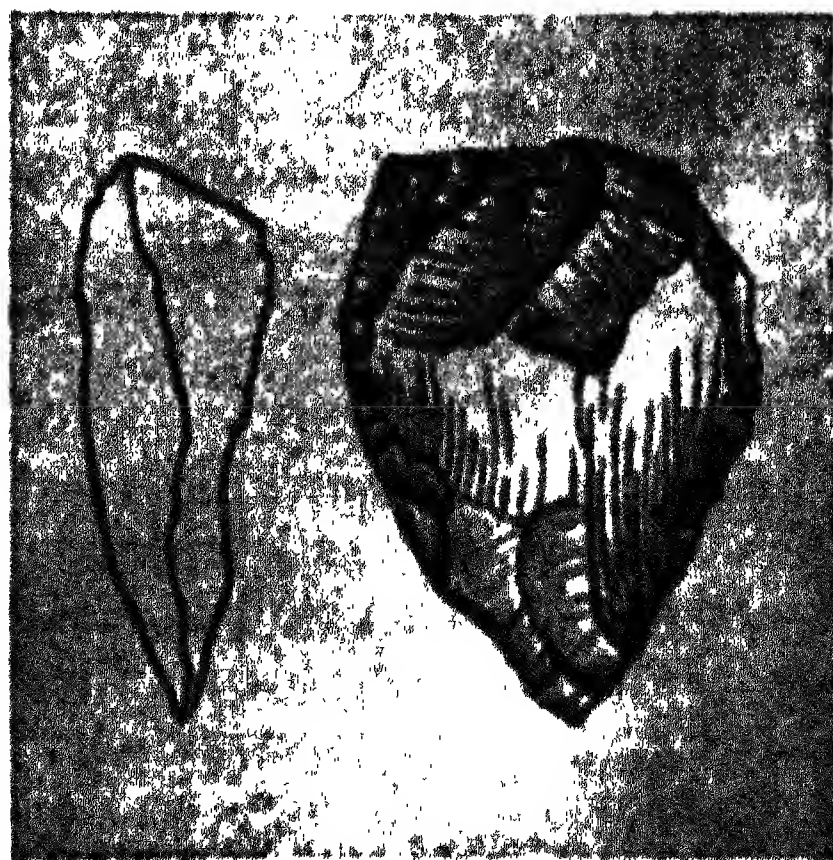
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Chapter I

THE PRIMITIVE COMMUNITY AND THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY

Ancient Cultures on the Territory of the U.S.S.R.

Soviet archaeologists have shown that the southern regions of the present territory of the U.S.S.R. formed part of an extensive area in which man evolved and from which early man migrated to more northerly regions. A palaeolithic encampment belonging to the Chellean culture has been discovered at Satani-Dar in Armenia. The Acheulean, a later culture, but still Early Palaeolithic, is represented by a number of sites in Armenia, Abkhazia, the Ukraine, the Crimea and Turkmenia. In the warm subtropical climate of this area small groups of primitive people engaged in food gathering and collective hunting. Microliths and celts served them as weapons. The advance of the ice that in the Mousterian Period sent two gigantic tongues southward as far as Kalach-on-Don and Kanev on the Dnieper brought changes to the climate and fauna of North-Eastern Europe and to the living conditions of primitive man. The warmth-loving animals were replaced by the so-called mammoth fauna



Flint celts from the Peshcherny Log neolithic camp on the River Chusovaya



Oaken dug-out boat, neolithic, found at a depth of 6 metres in the cliff bank of the River Don near Voronezh in 1934.
length—7 metres

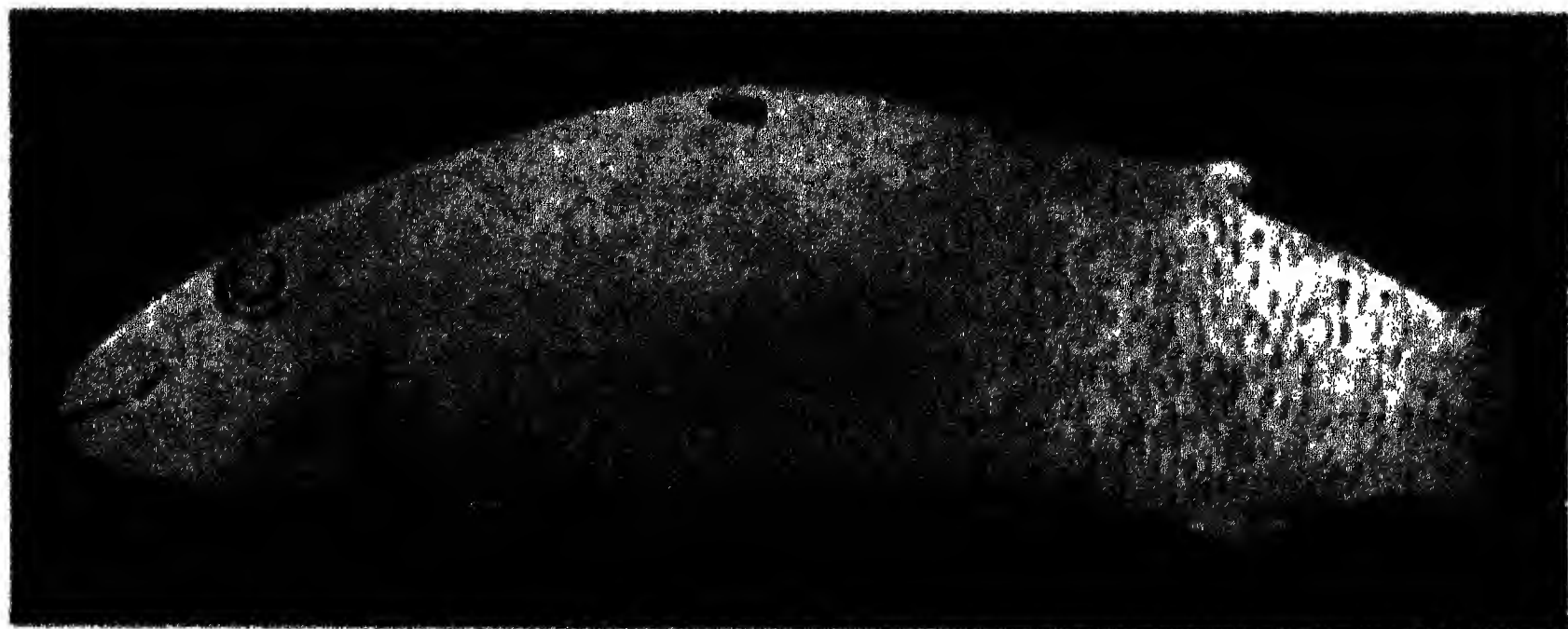
which included the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave bear and the reindeer. Man then occupied himself mainly in hunting big gregarious animals, his chief food, the whole community participating in battues. By this time camping grounds were used for longer periods by large communities of hunters (Ilskaya on the River Kuban). The Mousterian folk used improved stone weapons (pointed flints and scrapers), were able to produce fire and adapted caves as places of habitation. Despite the severe climatic conditions man continued to spread over the southern and even the central zones of Eastern Europe (Undory, cave dwellings near Stalingrad) and along the middle reaches of the River Desna. The oldest Neanderthal burials on Soviet territory were in the cave dwellings of the Crimea (Klik-Koba, Staroselye) and Central Asia (Teshik-Tash grotto).

Techniques of working in stone greatly improved in the Upper Palaeolithic and special tools appeared for working in wood, bone, horn and hides—flint scrapers, awls, knives and celts—and better weapons such as flint spearheads and spear throwers, bone harpoons, etc. This was the age when primitive art, colourful paintings and bone sculptures, first made its appearance. At the Kostenki and Gagarino settlements on the Don, at Avdeyevovo on the River Ragozna (a tributary of the Seim), at Yeliseyevichi on the River Sudost and at Malta and

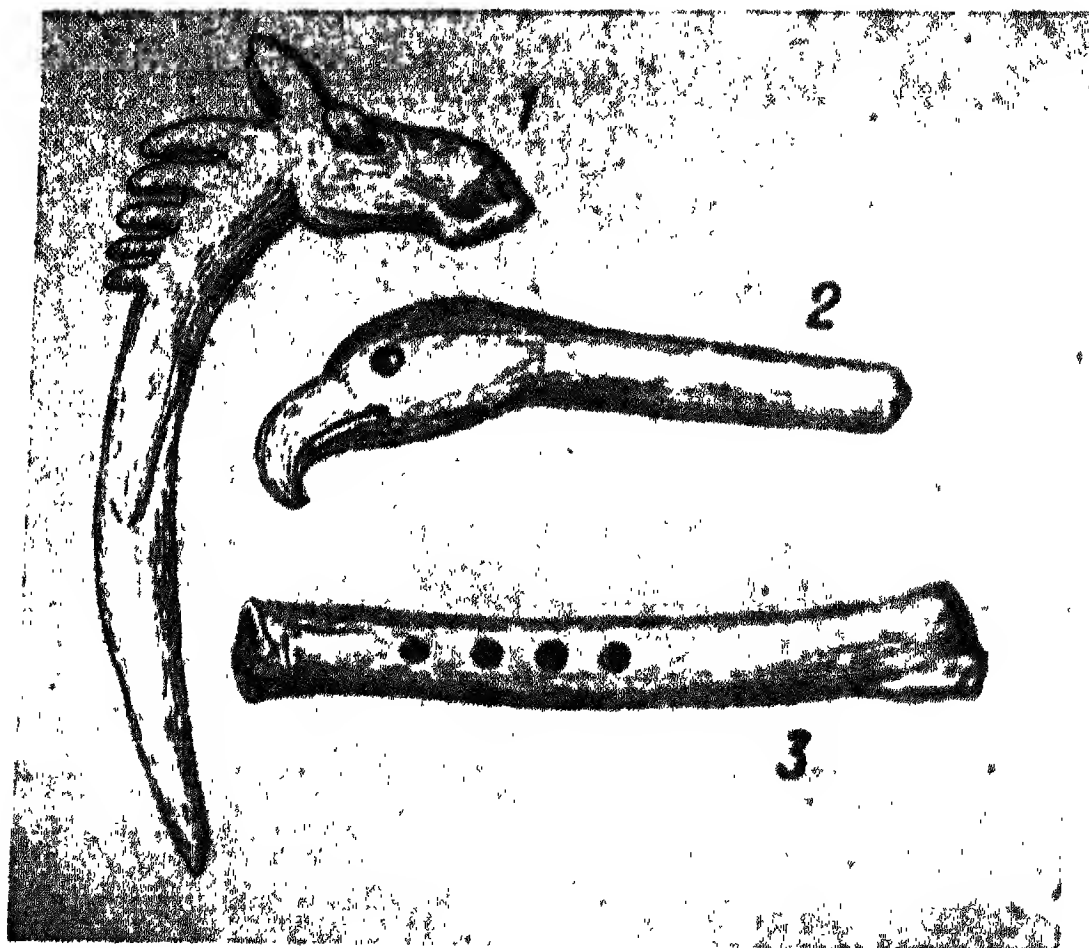
Buret near Irkutsk female figurines interpreted as the Mother Goddess have been found. These finds are evidence of the matriarchal organization of the Upper Palaeolithic community. The remains of big communal houses have been preserved at the settlements. They were first discovered at the Timonovka settlement near Bryansk. The house at Kostenki on the Don was 35 metres long, 10 metres wide and had numerous hearths; the communal house at Pushkari on the River Desna consisted of three adjoining structures with a total area of 50 sq. metres with one hearth in each. The large number of Upper Palaeolithic settlements shows that there had been a considerable increase in the population; up to 1954 about 300 of them had been discovered on the territory of the U.S.S.R., while Lower Palaeolithic settlements numbered less than 100. Upper Palaeolithic settlements have also been found in Georgia (Devis-Khvreli), Turkmenia and Tajikistan.

Towards the end of the Upper Palaeolithic, as the ice receded, man spread to the northern parts of U.S.S.R. territory. In the Urals, Upper Palaeolithic settlements have been found near the mouth of the River Chusovaya, and in Siberia, as far north as the headwaters of the Angara and the Lena.

In the Mesolithic Period (13th to 5th millennia B.C.) the process of expansion was more intensive; this was due to a number of factors—the transition from simple stone weapons to those in which the flint heads were fixed to wooden or bone handles, the use of new tools, especially cutting tools, and the invention of the bow and arrow with consequent increased productivity from the hunt; fishing was also developed. The settlements in



Neolithic stone fish, Siberia



Neolithic bone carvings: 1) An elk from the Oleneostrovsky burial-ground; 2) Head of a bird; 3) Pipe from the neolithic camp at Chornaya Gora, Ryazan Region

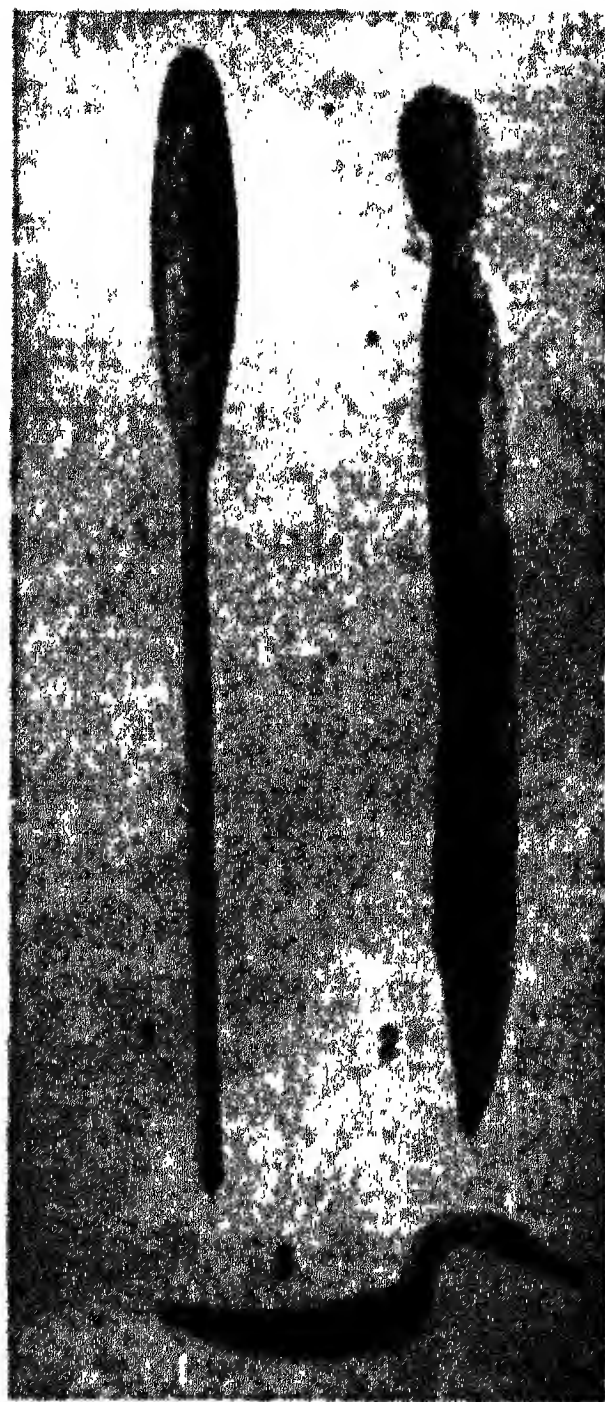
the forest belt of the U.S.S.R. in this period were occupied by small groups of hunters and fishers and were built on river-banks, very often on sand dunes (Gremyacheye, Yelin Bor and others). Food gathering was of great importance to the life of the community, especially in seaboard and southern areas (edible shellfish, etc.). The most important of the Mesolithic settlements is that at Kunda in the Estonian S.S.R.

The Neolithic or Later Stone Age (5th to 2nd millennia B.C.) saw further improvements to stone implements by the introduction of polishing and boring techniques. Dug-out boats, sledges and snow-shoes appeared which involved the use of different types of adzes, chisels, and other cutting instruments. Pottery made its first appearance. Soviet archaeologists have described a number of variations of the neolithic culture belonging, apparently, to certain tribal unions or groups of tribes. Each of these cultures is distinguished by its own type of stone and bone implements and by the ornament on its pottery. (Examples drawn from ethnographic data show that the ornament used by primitive tribes was connected with their conception of gentile or tribal symbols and was usually different for different tribes and similar for those closely related.) Observations of this kind, when correlated, enable historians to define the territory occupied by certain tribes and also to trace their migrations.

It is believed that by the end of the Mesolithic Period the groups of tribes that had occupied the Southern Trans-Ural region had spread over a considerable part of Western Siberia. Moving westward along the northern rivers and their tributaries they settled on the territories of the present Vologda Region, Karelia and the Baltic republics.

In the more densely populated basins of the Oka and Klyazma there were a number of distinct tribal territories with their own cultures—Lyalovo (the oldest), Belev, Ryazan, Volosovo and Balakhna cultures.

It has been shown that some of these tribes from the Volga-Oka area migrated to the North-European part of the U.S.S.R. and formed the nuclei of the tribes associated with the Kargopolyc, White Sea and Karelian cultures. This migration through the whole of the North, from the Oka to the White Sea, and in the Urals area, by the end of the Neolithic produced a culture with identical pottery (pit-comb ware) but with varying designs. The tribes of this culture were probably the ancestors of the Finno-Ugric tribes. Hunting and fishing remained their chief occupation to the very end of the Neolithic Period. The Neolithic cultures of the Urals and the Siberian taiga as far as the River Angara are distinguished by the predominance of hunting over fishing (the Isakovka and Serov cultures). In the neolithic burials of the Transbaikal area bows and arrows are found in the graves of both men and women, which is typical of a matriarchal community. There are certain artifacts that bear evidence of the appearance of the beginnings of farming in the 2nd millennium B.C. amongst some of the tribes inhabiting the forest zones of the U.S.S.R. During the excavation of the Modlona pile dwellings, in Vologda Region, linseed and a distaff were found. The Gorbunovsky peat-



1) Wooden paddle;
2) Idol from the Gorbunovsky peatbog in the Urals; 3) Wooden bowl

bog in the Urals produced a press for extracting oil from seed, and that of Sarnate, in Latvia, where there was a neolithic settlement, produced a wooden hoe. Burials of the epoch occur in clan or tribal burial-grounds, but the artifacts found in them do not indicate any property differentiation (Oleny Island and Mariupol burial-grounds). Neolithic art is represented by rock drawings and carvings found over an extensive area (Lake Onega, the White Sea coast, the Caucasus [Kobystan], Siberia, Central Asia [Zaraut-Sai]). Animals predominate as in the Palaeolithic—the hunt is mainly depicted but the drawing is schematic. The stone and bone statuettes of animals that have been found are, on the contrary, often very realistic.

Neolithic tribes in the south of the U.S.S.R. developed more rapidly in subtropical geographic and climatic surroundings and on account of their closer proximity to ancient cultural centres. Some of the Central Asian tribes (Jeitun settlement, Southern Turkmenia) and those of the Caucasus and Crimea were already cultivators and herdsmen in the Neolithic Period. In the Aëneolithic Period (corresponding chronologically to the northern Neolithic) the southern tribes of the forest-steppe and open steppe regions of the U.S.S.R. were engaged chiefly in hoe cultivation and animal husbandry (cattle, sheep, pigs; later, horses and camels in Central Asia). The oldest cultivators on the territory of the U.S.S.R. are those of the Anau culture in Southern Turkmenia, which dates back to the 4th millennium B.C. The Aëneolithic pottery of Anau is also of particular interest as it is of several different types and is decorated with intricate ornaments.

Ancient agricultural settlements on the territory of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan (Kül-Tapa and Shengavit) date back to the 3rd millennium B.C. The pottery of this culture is black glazed and red painted ware. The Nalchik burial-ground in the North Caucasus belongs to this period and is one of the latest left by the local population of herdsmen. The Aëneolithic Tripolye culture has been more deeply studied; it belongs to tribes that spread over the valleys of the Dniester and Dnieper in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. The Tripolye folk left big villages covering an area of several hectares and containing more than 200 houses arranged in a circle; the open space in the middle was used as a cattle-pen. Artifacts found in the dwelling-houses of the big matriarchal families include painted clay vessels (some used for storing grain), stone and bone hoes and querns.



Left—black glazed vessel from Shengavit; Right—gold cup from Trialeti embellished with filigree work and coloured stones

The numerous female figurines found at Tripolye were used in the matriarchal gentile cults.

The working of copper and, later, of bronze began on the territory of the U.S.S.R. towards the end of the 3rd millennium B.C., the beginning of the Bronze Age. The oldest Bronze Age culture is the so-called shaft culture (at its latest stages) belonging to tribes living between the Dnieper and the Volga. Towards the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. these tribes split into two groups, represented in the Lower Volga basin by the Poltavka culture and between the Don and the Dnieper by the catacomb culture.

By the time of the advanced Bronze Age a settled farming and cattle-breeding economy had developed in the steppes between the Don and the Volga and extended as far as Southern Siberia; it was based on the use of meadowlands for pasture and the cultivation of the areas flooded by the rivers. In the steppelands of the European territory of the U.S.S.R. the *srubnaya* culture became the most important. Cattle-breeding predominated and the social structure was that of the patriarchal clan. The growth of the population and of the herds that demanded more pasture land compelled the *srubnaya* tribes to move westward and expel, or, possibly, assimilate some of the catacomb culture tribes. It is believed that the *srubnaya* tribes were the ancestors of the Scythians and belonged to the Indo-European group of peoples.

The oldest Bronze Age culture in the steppes of Southern Siberia and the Altai was the Afanasyevskaya culture; the tribes of this culture abandoned hunting for pastoral pursuits

which led to the development of patriarchal relations. These relations were consolidated by the appearance of bronze metallurgy. From the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. another culture, the Andronovskaya, covered a huge area from the River Yenisei to the River Ural. Typical of this culture were its high level of bronze metallurgy and highly developed animal husbandry and farming. Under the strong influence of North China, the Karasuk culture developed along the upper reaches of the River Ob, along the River Yenisei and in the Altai and Sayan Highlands from the end of the 2nd millennium B.C.

In the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia B.C., the middle reaches of the rivers Desna and Dnieper were occupied by tribes of the Middle Dnieper culture whose chief pursuit was cattle-breeding. In more northerly regions, from the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. there was a significant Bronze Age culture at Fatyanovo, very similar to the Middle Dnieper culture; it is represented by numerous burial-grounds. The appearance of this culture in the area between the Oka and the Volga was due to the eastward movement of a group of tribes related to those of the Middle Dnieper. The Fatyanovo culture, chiefly that of herdsmen, differentiated sharply from the culture of the indigenous tribes with their pit-comb pottery who were still at the cultural level of neolithic hunters and fishers. By the 2nd millennium B.C. the Oka-Kama area of the Volga basin and the Urals foot-hills were occupied by the tribes of the Abashovo culture who engaged in cattle-breeding and farming.

In the Bronze Age the difference in the level of development of the various tribes inhabiting the territory of the U.S.S.R. became sharply defined. The high level attained by the cattle-breeding and farming tribes in the Caucasus and Transcaucasus was facilitated by the differentiation of the mining and working of metals into a specialized branch of activity. Very great property differentiation is shown by the rich burials, such as those at Maikop in the North Caucasus, that near the village of Novosvobodnaya in the Kuban, and burials at Trialeti in Georgia. These burials contain many articles of gold and silver. The large number of articles brought from other regions tells of intercourse with the countries of the Ancient East. Graves of chieftains with their weapons and with the ritual burial of slaves have been found. In some parts of the Transcaucasus the dwellings of the chieftains were turned into stone fortresses. The Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age cultures of the Cau-



2



Bronze artifacts found in 1956 near the village of Lchashen on the territory dried out by the shrinking of Lake Sevan, Armenia. The tumuli in which they were found belong to the 11th century B.C. 1) Two axes, a mirror, a chisel and a pitchfork placed in a cauldron (Tumulus [kurgan] No. 1); 2) Bird on a pedestal; 3) Daggers in ornamented scabbards (Tumulus No. 2); 4) Ladle

casus and Transcaucasus (Kizil-Vank, Ganja-Karabakh, Koban and Colchis) reflect the life of tribes whose patriarchal clans had begun to disintegrate under the influence of the prevailing system of slavery. By the end of the Bronze Age some of the Transcaucasus tribes were structurally close to early statehood. In the Anau district of Southern Turkmenia conditions for the development of a class society were also ripe. In the settlements in this area big houses of unburned brick, decorated with mural paintings, have been discovered. Metallurgy and pottery had already become specialized pursuits. In the 2nd millennium B.C. the potter's wheel was in use. This is the earliest date of its introduction anywhere on the territory of the U.S.S.R. At that time the less developed Taza-Baghyab culture of Khwarezm still had hand-fashioned pottery. The population of the northern part of European Russia, the Siberian taiga and the Transbaikalian area still retained the clan and tribal relations of Neolithic times.

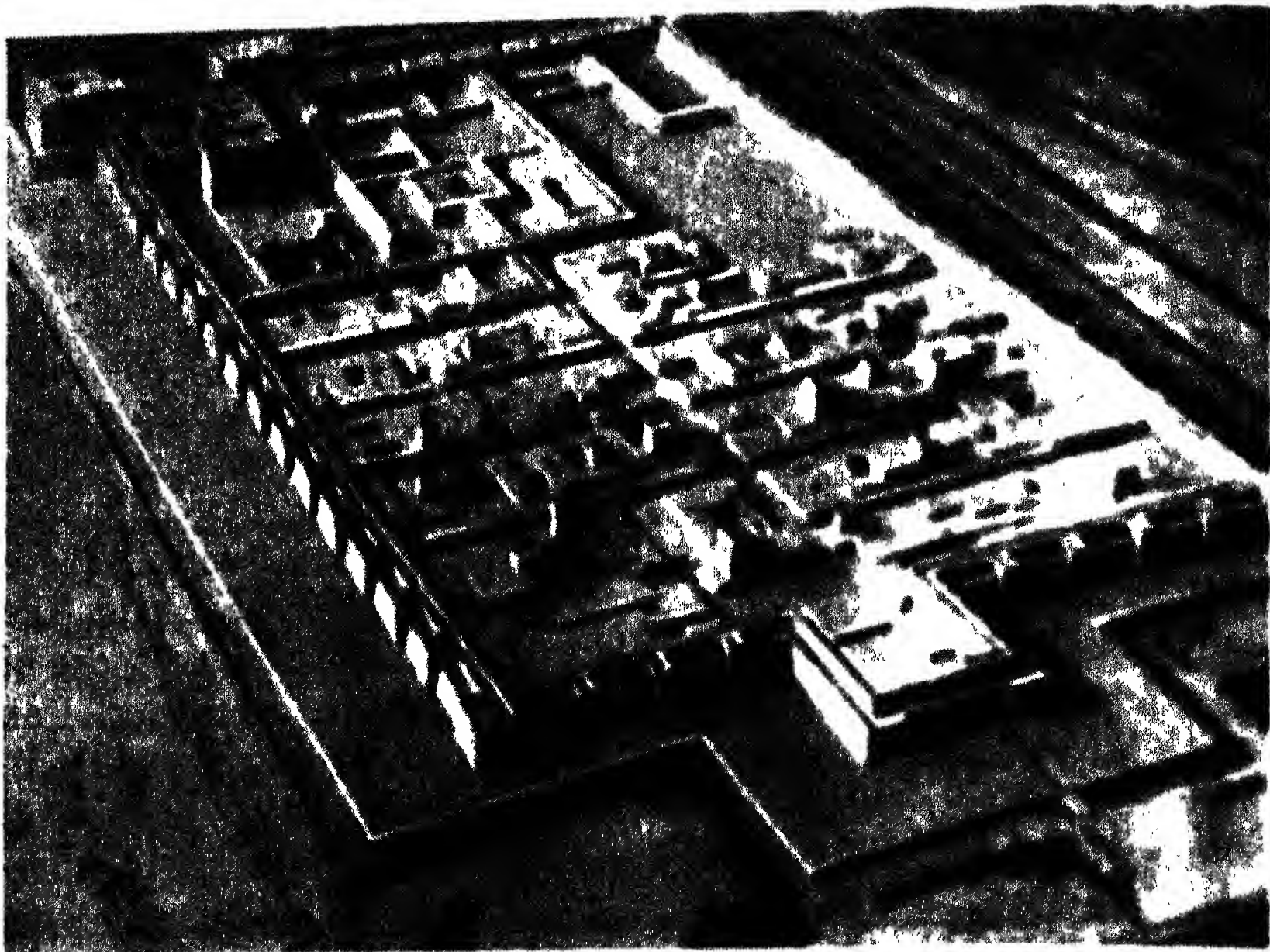
In the Iron Age (beginning of 1st millennium B.C.) some of the steppe tribes (Scythians and Sarmatians; the Sacae and Massagetae in Central Asia; some tribes in Southern Siberia) became nomad or semi-nomad herdsmen. This facilitated the development of productive forces, the growth of barter with the farming tribes and the emergence of towns as centres of trade and craftsmanship.

The oldest centre of iron metallurgy was the Transcaucasus. In the 8th to the 6th centuries B.C. the mining and working of iron was widespread among the people of Central Asia and among the tribes of the Southern and Central regions of the U.S.S.R. One of the earliest and most highly developed Iron Age cultures was that of the settled farming and cattle-breeding Scythian tribes who occupied the lower reaches of the Dnieper, an area rich in iron-ore deposits. Here they built big settlements that included cattle-pens protected by earthen ramparts. Some of these settlements contain evidence of well-developed metallurgy (Kamenka). The Scythians left many *kurgans* or grave-mounds which served as monuments to their aristocratic dead and date back to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. (Kul-Oba, Solokha, Chertomlyk and others).

Excavations have revealed the capital city of the early Scythian slave state in the Crimea (the Naples of the Scythians) with a rich urban culture closely linked up with that of the Greek city states on the northern and western coasts of the Black

Sea. The Sarmatians, whose original homes were in the steppes of the Volga, Don and Kuban basins, began to replace the Scythians at the end of the 1st millennium B.C.; they possessed a material culture close to that of the latter. A large number of their burial-grounds, groups of *kurgans*, have been examined (Nekrasovskaya, Pashkovskaya in the Krasnodar Territory of the R.S.F.S.R.), as well as individual burials of Sarmatian aristocrats that are as magnificent as the regal burials of the Scythians (the *kurgan* grave of the Sarmatian Queen at Novo-cherkassk). The Scythian epoch in Eastern Europe is contemporary with the Tagharskoye culture on the River Yenisei. These people watered farm lands by flooding and bred cattle. The weapons and bronzeware of this culture are similar to those of the Scythians. Owing to the widespread use of copper, iron metallurgy remained unknown in this region until the 5th century B. C. Their social structure was that of the patriarchal clan, although burials tell of a very considerable property differentiation. The burials of 5th-3rd-century-B.C. chieftains of the Altai tribes are distinguished by the size of the burial-mounds and the richness of the artifacts found in the vaults (Pazirik). Rich articles brought from Central Asia and Persia have been found in them. The Tashtik culture, that replaced the Tagharskoye culture on the Yenisei towards the end of the 1st millennium B.C., was already an advanced Iron Age culture. Plaster funeral masks moulded from the faces of the dead are found in their graves. A study of the masks shows that by this time the European type that had until then predominated in the Siberian steppes was being replaced by a Mongoloid anthropological type.

In Central Asia (Khwarezm) in the 1st millennium B. C., the Haddad culture (Early Iron Age) was very widespread; it was chiefly a farming and cattle-breeding culture. Clan relations were retained in Khwarezm during this millennium and later, evidence of which is to be seen in the "towns where people lived in the walls"—clan community settlements dating from the 6th to the 4th century B.C.; the houses, with entrances through the roofs, formed a continuous wall round the houses open in the centre of the square. Slavery, however, was not an institution: the huge system of irrigation canals could not have been built in a period in which the primitive community prevailed. In the 1st millennium B. C. the



The Palace of Toprakkalah (reconstruction). 1st century B.C. to 6th century A.D.

oldest slave-owning states appeared in Central Asia (as in the Transcaucasus, Siberia and other parts of the U.S.S.R.)

At this time in the central and northern European forest regions of the U.S.S.R. groups of tribes were being formed from which evolved a society of the patriarchal clan type. These tribes were farmers and herdsmen and the introduction of iron facilitated the rapid development of productive forces and progress in all branches of their economy. They were the direct ancestors of historically known tribes and peoples, such as the Merya, Muroma and Ves tribes of the Dyakovo culture in the Volga-Oka area (later assimilated by the Slavs), the tribes of the Gorodets culture living on the middle reaches of the Oka and Volga, and the tribes of the Ananyino and Planobor cultures living on the Kama—the ancestors of the present Mordovians, Udmurts, Chuvashes and others.

Towards the end of the 1st millennium B. C. the inhabitants of the middle reaches of the Dnieper and Dniester evolved a distinctive culture with extensive burial fields belonging to farm folk—these were the ancestors of the East Slav tribes.

Slave-owning States and Tribal Alliances in Transcaucasia and Central Asia

The institution of the private ownership of land and the means of production led to the disintegration of primitive communal society. The earliest form of the division of society into classes is its division into slaves and slave-owners. On the territory of the U.S.S.R. the earliest slave-owning societies emerged in the Transcaucasia. The slave-owning state of Urartu came into being in the vicinity of Lake Van (Turkish Armenia) in the 9th century B.C. and in the first half of the 8th century covered a large area and dominated a considerable part of Anterior Asia. This was the period of Urartu's greatest prosper-



Wine cellar of the Urartu fortress at Telshebalni, Armenia, 7th century B.C. to beginning of 6th century B.C.

ity when great progress was made in many branches of economy. The irrigation of the land under tillage was effected by means of a system of complicated engineering works constructed and serviced both by slaves and by free peasants and bondsmen. The crafts were highly developed, especially metallurgy; a system of cuneiform writing was in use. Mathematics developed, a system of figures and a system of measures were evolved.

The Urartu state collapsed in the struggle against the Medes about 590 B.C.

Part of the Urartu territory was occupied by Armenian tribes who gradually spread over the whole country, assimilating local tribes. By the end of the 7th century B.C. an alliance of Armenian tribes had been formed; about 520 B.C. they came under Persian rule. In the 4th century B.C. part of the Armenian territory was conquered by Alexander of Macedon, but by the end of that same century an independent Armenian Kingdom had been set up. On the territory of Georgia in the 3rd century B.C. there were two powerful alliances of Georgian tribes, the nuclei of later states—Colchis in Western Georgia and Iberia in Eastern Georgia. In the northern part of present-day Azerbaijan, the Albanian tribal alliance was formed in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.

In Central Asia in the 1st millennium B.C. there were the slave-owning states of Khwarezm, Bactria and Sogd (or Sogdiana) where a high level of farming and urban culture was reached.

Khwarezm, one of the most significant cultural centres of the ancient world, came under the rule of the Persian Achaemenid state in the 6th century B.C. In the 4th century B.C. the Achaemenid state was destroyed by Alexander and its territories were integrated into the Graeco-Macedonian Empire. After the collapse of the latter in that same century a considerable part of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus was included in the Seleucid state. New state formations were created in the course of the struggle against Greek supremacy; in the 3rd century the Parthian state to the south-east of the Caspian and the Graeco-Bactrian state, that included the territories of present-day Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and part of Turkmenia, were founded. In the 2nd century B.C. a mass migration of pastoral tribes began in Central Asia. The migration was accompanied by the emergence of new political formations, one of which was the slave-own-

ing Kushan Kingdom on the territory of Bactria and Sogdiana in the 1st century B.C. The Armenian, Georgian, Tajik and other peoples also took shape in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia towards the end of the 1st millennium B.C.

In the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. the kingdom of Armenia grew powerful owing to the development of slavery, the growth of the towns and Armenia's participation in world caravan trade (reign of Artashes I, 189-161 B.C., and Tigran II the Great, 95-56 B.C.).

In her struggle against Parthia, Rome invaded the Transcaucasus in the last century B.C. At the end of that century and the beginning of the 1st century A.D., Armenia was conquered by Rome, the entire Transcaucasus becoming a dependency of the Roman Empire. The peoples of the Transcaucasus raised a number of rebellions against Roman rule.

Tribal Alliances and Slave-owning States in Eastern Europe. The Slavs

In the 1st millennium B.C. the area to the north of the Black Sea was inhabited by a number of different tribes. The oldest known were the Cimmerians (circa 9th-7th centuries B.C.). From the 5th century onwards ancient Greek historians called all the tribes in the area by the generic name of "Scythians" although among them were settled farming tribes as well as nomad herdsmen. Property differentiation took place among the Scythians and slavery developed to a considerable extent. In the 3rd century B.C. the Scythians established a slave-owning state on the northern coast of the Black Sea. In the same area the military and political union of Sarmatian tribes also took place, beginning from the 4th century. It was under pressure from the latter that the Scythian capital was moved to Naples in the Crimea, in the 3rd century.



Olvia. The altar on Agora. Excavated

In the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. the Greeks had established a large number of city colonies on the northern Black Sea coast—Olvia, Chersones, Feodosia, Panticapaeum, Tanais and others. In the 5th century Panticapaeum became the centre of the slave-owning Bosphorus Kingdom. The Greek colonies maintained economic and cultural relations with the peoples to the north of the Black Sea; there was considerable commerce, the Greeks exporting grain, fish and other products to Athens. They also seized or bought slaves. Towards the end of the 2nd century Scythian slaves in the Bosphorus Kingdom raised a rebellion under the leadership of Saumacus that took on such dimensions that it was suppressed only with the aid of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus (Asia Minor), who subordinated the Bosphorus Kingdom to his own rule. In the 2nd century B.C. the Black Sea cities were attacked first by the Sarmatians and then (in the 1st century B.C.) by the Getae who advanced on them from the west; these attacks led to the decline of the Greek colonies. In the 1st century A.D. the Romans conquered the Pontian Kingdom and the Black Sea became a Roman dependency. The final disintegration of the cities on the Black Sea took place in the 3rd century A.D.

The long and intricate process of the formation of the Slav tribes began in Central Europe and in the basins of the Vistula and Dnieper and in Volhynia about the 3rd millennium B.C. By the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. the early Slav tribes had taken definite shape. During this process of ethnogenesis they became divided into Eastern, Southern and Western Slavs.

By the end of the 1st millennium the Eastern Slavs had spread along the Desna and Dnieper and had reached the headwaters of the Oka and Volga. Theirs was an agricultural economy. The earliest mention of the Slavs (Venedians) in written history dates back to the 1st century A.D.

Chapter II

THE FEUDAL PERIOD

INCEPTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF FEUDAL RELATIONS (4th-12th CENTURIES) EMERGENCE OF ANCIENT RUS AS A STATE

Origin of Feudal Relations

The slave states of Europe and the Near East underwent a process of decay between the 3rd and 6th centuries. The unproductive labour of slaves hampered the development of productive forces, and attempts on the part of slave-owners to increase production by intensified exploitation led to a sharpening of the class struggle and mass insurrections. At the same time the primitive clan communities of the "barbarians" (Slav and Germanic tribes) were disintegrating; this process was accompanied by armed raids on a gigantic scale that greatly enriched the tribal aristocracy; the barbarians dealt the decaying slave states heavy blows from without. In the middle of the 3rd century, for example, the Slav tribes took part in raids on the Roman Empire. The slave states had entered a phase of profound crisis.

The East Slavs bypassed the slave-owning period of history and found the labour of peasants, themselves interested in the improvement of their farms, to be more productive than that of slaves. An aristocracy grew up within the primitive clan community that had managed to accumulate considerable property and had begun to seize the chief means of production, the land; the aristocracy then turned to the exploitation of peasant labour. This was the beginning of feudalism, a new system of social relations with new classes—the land-owning feudal lords and peasants dependent on and exploited by them. The basis of

feudalism was the ownership of land which enabled the ruling class to make the peasants their dependents and exploit their labour.

The development of feudalism was historically progressive as it brought the relations between people engaged in production into line with the growing productive forces. Feudalism raised production potential to a higher level than had been possible under previous social formations. Iron tools and new crops were introduced and animal husbandry became more intensive. The crafts were developed with the introduction of improved tools. The number of people able to manufacture and use the new tools increased. All these changes provided a basis for economic, political and cultural development. The economy of feudalism was predominantly that of the self-sufficing community, i.e., natural economy that engaged in barter but knew little or nothing of money relations.

Feudalism emerged at different periods in different parts of the U.S.S.R. where economic and social relations were at different levels. The peoples of the Transcaucasus were the first to enter the period of feudalism.

Transcaucasus and Central Asia, 4th-9th Centuries

Feudalism developed in Armenia in the 4th and 5th centuries and in Azerbaijan from the 3rd to the 6th centuries; by the 6th century a feudal state had also evolved in Georgia. In about the year 301 in Armenia and some 50 years later in Georgia (Kartli) the Christian religion was adopted.

The territory of Armenia and Georgia was the scene of a struggle for supremacy between Persia and Byzantium. In 450-51, 481-84, 571-72 there were extensive rebellions of Armenians, Georgians and Albanians (the ancient inhabitants of northern Azerbaijan) against the Persian Sassanid dynasty.

In Central Asia the transition from the slave state to feudalism took place between the 6th and 9th centuries in Khwarezm and Sogdiana. The class struggle of the peasants increased as feudal relations developed. In 585-86 one of the rebellions, under the leadership of Abrui in the Bokhara region, was only suppressed with the aid of the Turkic Kaghan. Shortly after this Central Asia was integrated into the Turkic Kaghanate.

In the 7th and 8th centuries Central Asia and the Transcaucasus were conquered by the Arabs who set up a system of bru-

tal oppression on the subjugated territories. For several centuries the peoples of the conquered territories kept up a stubborn struggle against Arab rule. The biggest rebellion in Central Asia was that led by Mukanna in Sogdiana from 776 to 783. In the 7th century in Armenia a war of liberation under T. Rshtuni broke out; there was also a widespread insurrection against the Arabs in Armenia that lasted from 772 to 775. In Albania, a state that existed on the territories of present-day Azerbaijan and Daghestan, the people's war of liberation, headed by Babek, lasted from 816 to 837.

East Slavs Between 4th and 9th Centuries

Between the 4th and 6th centuries a people known as the Antes lived in Eastern Europe; the name, according to some authorities, is derived from that of the older Venedians. The Antes were farmers and livestock-breeders living to the east of the Dniester. Ante settlements that have been excavated showed that the crafts were highly developed, the artifacts including iron and bronze articles and ornaments of precious metals. The social relations of the Antes showed that the clan system of society was beginning to disintegrate. In the 4th century the Slavs engaged in a fierce struggle with the Goths living to the north of the Sea of Azov. This is the period of our first historical information of the union of the East Slav tribes under their chief Bozh (or Bus). At the end of the 4th century the Goths on the north coast of the Black Sea were crushed by the Huns, a nomad people migrating from Central Asia, who inflicted tremendous damage on the productive forces and culture of the countries they conquered. The Hun state collapsed in the 5th century.

In the steppes of the Black Sea area, the North Caucasus and the Volga basin three Turkic tribal alliances were formed in the 6th century and later developed into the Avar, Khazar and Bulgar states. In the 6th century the Avars passed through the Slav lands and established their state, the Avar Kaghanate, between the Danube and the Carpathians; it lasted until the 9th century. From the 7th to the 9th centuries the Khazars made ruinous raids on the Slavs. The local Bulgar nomad tribes occupying the Azov area split into two groups in the 7th century; one group moved to the Lower Danube where they mingled with the Slavs who also became known as Bulgars; the others moved northwards to the middle reaches of the Volga

where they founded the Volga Bulgar state with its capital, Bulgar, on that river south of the mouth of the Kama, this state existing to the beginning of the 13th century.

In the 6th century a tribal alliance of Duleb Slavs was formed in the Carpathian area in the course of the struggle against the nomad Avars. In general the struggle against a common enemy brought about the formation of tribal alliances among the East Slavs. In the 9th century they had three political centres—Slavia, Kuyavia and Artania.

Formation of the State of Rus

The economy of the East Slavs was agricultural, mainly field farming, although livestock-breeding, hunting, fishing and other pursuits were of great importance; the crafts developed simultaneously. The progress of the social division of labour brought about the beginnings of commodity production. Ancient Rus traded with countries in the West and the East, commerce being facilitated by the waterways, the route known as "the road from the Varangians to the Greeks," which included the whole length of the Dnieper. Commerce brought about greater property differentiation and the accumulation of material values in the hands of the local aristocracy; this accelerated the formation of classes among the East Slavs.

The emergence of a class society prepared the way for the formation of the state of Rus which came into being in the latter half of the 9th century. The chronicles contain a legend telling how some of the Slav tribes sent for the Varangians Rurik, Sineus and Truvor to rule them. This legend was made use of by some German historians, who worked in Russia in the 18th century and treated everything Russian with haughty disdain, to build up an unscientific theory that Russian statehood was not an independent development. They maintained that the Normans (Scandinavian pirates who roamed the seas in the 9th century) were the founders of the Russian state and that until the coming of the Varangians the Slavs were tribes of savages who knew nothing of agriculture, handicrafts or settled life. The entire culture of Kiev Rus was attributed to the Varangians. The invitation of Varangian foreigners to rule the country could not have been the beginning of Russian statehood insofar as the state is evolved by the internal development of society and cannot be imported from without. The existence of bands of

Varangian mercenaries in the service of Russian Princes had no very great effect on the social structure and culture of Ancient Rus as their numbers were insignificant and their social and economic development was at a lower level than that of Rus. The Varangians were soon assimilated by the Slavs.

In 882 Oleg, Prince of Novgorod, captured Kiev, which then became the capital of the Old Russian state, and for the first time united the Polyane, Slovenes, Krivichi and others. At the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries the Princes of Kiev also subordinated the Drevlyane, Severyane and Radimichi; during the first half of the 10th century, the Ulich and Tivertsi, and, later in the century, the Vyatichi.

For a long time the exploitation of the population subordinated to Kiev took the form of tribute paid to the Prince and his *druzhinniki* (members of the *druzhina* or armed entourage of the Prince). The members of the chief *druzhina* or band—the aristocracy who formed the Prince's entourage—were given whole regions from which they gathered tribute for their own use. Part of the tribute (in furs, honey, etc.) went abroad in exchange for foreign commodities. Thus a peculiar system of political relations grew up which Karl Marx called a vassaldom without fiefs, or fiefs that constituted only the collection of tribute without actual landownership. State power was in the hands of the Prince and his *druzhina*; the Prince was to a great extent dependent on the *druzhina* and was not an autocratic ruler. In the urban centres there were "captains over thousands"—the captains of town trainbands. Local government was effected by representatives of the Prince (*virniki*, or gatherers of fines, and others) who acted as judges and tax-gatherers. After the suppression of a rebellion of the Drevlyane in 945, Princess Olga instituted a system of administrative centres in the territory under her rule and regulations governing the gathering of tribute. From the 9th to the 11th centuries feudalism spread and took firm root in Ancient Rus. Military leaders—the Princes—and their *druzhini* gradually became landed proprietors by the seizure of common lands belonging to peasant communities. The peasants in the communities had been impoverished by property differentiation, by frequent wars and raids made by neighbouring tribes and peoples, and by the increased fines and tribute demanded as the power of the Prince grew stronger. Within the Slav community (the *veru*) property differentiation took place and peasants that were unable to farm independent-

ly were compelled to enter into dependent relations with the owners of the chief means of production, the land.

The towns of Ancient Rus grew up and developed between the 8th and 10th centuries. Some of them—Kiev, Novgorod, Pskov, Polotsk, Smolensk and others—were by that time not only fortified strongholds, but had become commercial centres where craftsmen plied their trades.

With the introduction of feudalism into social relations the ruling class made every effort to adapt the ancient clan customs to their class requirements and make them serve their own interests. We get a clear picture of this from the codification of early feudal legal relations by Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich early in the 11th century in what is known as *Russian Law* or *Yaroslav's Law*.

The conversion to Christianity (circa 988-989) under Vlad-

imir Svyatoslavich (reg. circa 980-1015) helped to greatly strengthen feudal relations. Until then the Slavs had been idolaters. The ancient pagan cults of the Slavs deified the forces of nature—water, fire, land, plants and animals. The East Slavs worshipped lakes, springs, groves, trees and animals. The cult of ancestors was also widespread (there was a god of the Clan (the Father) and a Mother goddess). The spread of agriculture and class relations were reflected in the pagan cults of the East Slavs. Their chief gods were Dazhd-bog (the



Yaroslav the Wise. Reconstruction
by M. Gerasimov

Sun), the Goddess of Earth, Veles the God of Cattle, Svarog the God of Fire, and Perun the Thunderer. There were also numerous minor deities.

The new Christian religion served to bring the entire population of the different parts of Ancient Rus within the framework of a single ideology, but it was mainly to the advantage of the growing class of feudal landed proprietors since it proclaimed a system of overlordship and subordination. The church, which later itself became a powerful landowner, gave tremendous material and ideological support to actions taken by the state authorities to stabilize the position of the ruling class. The conversion to Christianity was also important in strengthening the international prestige of Ancient Rus. The church helped raise the level of culture by spreading the art of writing and by developing literature, painting and architecture. With the spread of Christianity, Byzantine literature began to penetrate into Rus in translation. Through this literature Russian people learned of the cultural heritage of antiquity.

The strengthening of the Russian state between the 9th and 11th centuries took place in a period of complicated international relations. Kiev Rus had to stand up against the devastating raids of nomads from the East, mostly the Pechenegs; fortresses and lines of fortifications were built for defence against them. There was a constant struggle against Byzantium who claimed the right to the undivided rule of the Black Sea basin. Feudal lords and merchants strove to strengthen their positions on the Black Sea coast and in the Crimea, but came up against Byzantium's efforts to subordinate these areas to her own rule. Armed conflicts between Byzantium and Rus, therefore, were of frequent occurrence and were often successful. In the middle of the 9th century the East Slavs made a raid on Constantinople. In 907 Prince Oleg at the head of a large army conducted an extensive campaign against Byzantium, and compelled the latter to accept peace terms favourable to Rus and established the right of Russian merchants to trade in Byzantium (treaty of 911). In 941 Prince Igor set out on another campaign against Byzantium which ended in failure, but in 944-945, after still another campaign, a fresh treaty was concluded with Byzantium. In 943-944 Russian forces conducted a successful campaign in the Transcaucasus.

The foreign political activity of Ancient Rus reached its zenith under Prince Svyatoslav (circa 964-972). Svyatoslav continued

the unification of the East Slav lands under the rule of Kiev. His *druzhini* inflicted a crushing defeat on the most dangerous enemy of Rus, the Khazar Kaghanate, and destroyed a number of Khazar towns including their capital, Itil (965). The Bulgar state on the Volga was also subordinated. In the West Svyatoslav took advantage of a difficult situation in the Byzantine Empire, against whom a rebellion had been raised in Bulgaria. At the request of Byzantium, who hoped to re-establish her rule with the aid of Rus, Svyatoslav occupied what is now Bulgaria and then started to strengthen his position on the Danube. This led to a further conflict with Byzantium. In 968 and 969 Svyatoslav conducted two campaigns against Byzantium in which he and his *druzhina* displayed amazing courage. Besieged in Dorostol on the Danube in 971 by the numerically superior forces of Byzantium, Svyatoslav was forced to make peace and quit Dorostol. On their way back the Russian force was attacked by Pechenegs at the Dnieper rapids and defeated; Svyatoslav was killed (972). His son and successor, Vladimir Svyatoslavich, continued this active foreign policy and strengthened Kiev Rus in the south and south-east by a chain of towns that protected the country from the Pecheneg raids; he conducted a successful war against Poland that was trying to subordinate some of the Russian lands. Further successes were achieved in the struggle against Byzantium. Byzantium's attempts to use the Christian church to increase her political influence in Rus met with effective resistance in that country. In 1051, under Prince Yaroslav (reg. 1019-1054) the Russian Metropolitan Illarion was placed at the head of the Russian church.

The international prestige of the Ancient Russian state was increased by extensive dynastic ties between the Princes of Kiev and the ruling dynasties of Germany, England, France, the Scandinavian countries, Byzantium, etc. Rus traded with the South and West Slavs, with the peoples of the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Baltic and with Volga Bulgaria.

Development of Feudal Relations in Ancient Rus

By the 11th century feudal land tenure was already widespread. By this time Princes and boyars had acquired extensive demesnes. *Druzhinniki* were granted lands by the Grand Duke, the title now assumed by the rulers of Kiev, for services

rendered and so a system of conditional land tenure was introduced. The class of feudal landowners grew rapidly and larger numbers of peasants came under feudal exploitation in one way or another.

In the 11th and 12th centuries corvée service (Russ. *barshchina*) became widespread. Lenin noted that "corvée service was maintained almost from the inception of Rus (the landowners enslaved the peasants at the time of the *Russian Law*)." The main producer of material values was the peasant (*smerd*) who performed all the manifold tasks on the feudal estate.

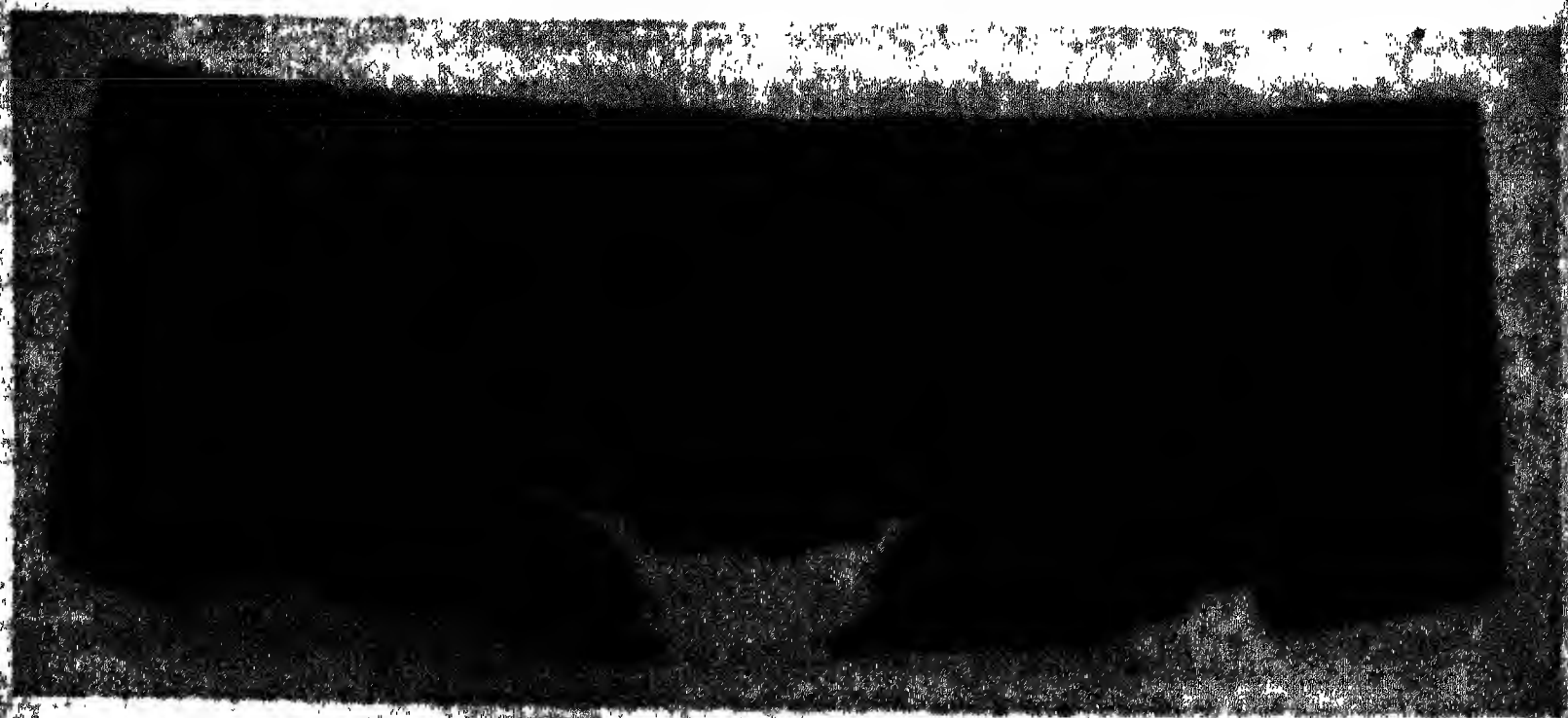
The growth of towns in Ancient Rus was directly bound up with the development of feudal economy. New settlements grew up under the walls of feudal castles and fortresses and became centres of handicraft production and commerce (*posad*). The urban craftsmen attained a high degree of skill in the 11th and 12th centuries and supplied the needs of both urban and rural population. The produce of the craftsmen was distributed for tens and even hundreds of miles around the town in which they worked. The towns were also important centres of foreign trade. Their populations of merchants and craftsmen kept up a struggle for the freedom of the towns and the limitation of the Prince's power over them.

As feudalism developed in Ancient Rus the class struggle became more acute. The conversion of free members of the village community into dependent peasants called forth a protest from the masses. In 1024 there was an insurrection of *smerds* in the Suzdal Land. At the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies of the 11th century, when there was a big anti-feudal rebellion in Kiev (1068) and disturbances among the *smerds* in Rostov (circa 1071), the class struggle again took a sharper turn. The ruling feudal class and the state power that defended them suppressed the popular uprisings with great brutality. At the same time the system of feudal law was strengthened, protecting the property and power of the ruling class. At the beginning of the seventies of the 11th century the second part of *Russian Law*, known as the *Law of the Yaroslaviches* (*Pravda Yaroslavichei*) because it was approved by a Congress of Princes, the sons of Yaroslav, came into force. The tenets of the *Russian Law* reflected an acute class struggle. As the feudal system developed further, new concepts were given legal status in the *Charter of Vladimir Monomach* (*Ustav Vladimira Monomakha*) that was drawn up after the Kiev

insurrection of 1113 and in a new edition of *Russian Law* known as the *Extended Law (Prostrannaya Pravda)* that was drawn up at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries.

Culture of Ancient Rus

A rich material and spiritual culture took form and developed in Ancient Rus. The articles made by craftsmen, especially by the jewellers, and the generally high technical level of handicrafts show the extent to which the country's material culture had developed. Legends and tales (*bylini i skazaniya*), a form of oral literature, were well developed. The art of writing and the copying of books had begun to spread by the 10th century. Since 1951 archaeologists have found a number of birch-bark documents, the oldest of which dates back to the 11th century. Big libraries are known to have existed and there were schools at the monasteries. The oldest document in Russian that has been preserved is the *Ostromir Gospel*, an excellent example of an illuminated manuscript of that period. In addition to translated books, mainly from the Greek, a number of original literary and historical works appeared. They were written by members of the ruling class in the spirit of a religious world outlook. The greatest of the literary works showing the social thought of the period was the *Chronicle of Times Past (Povest vremennykh let)*, an historical compilation written at the beginning of the 12th century on the basis of earlier chronicles that have not been preserved. The *Chronicle of Times Past* expresses

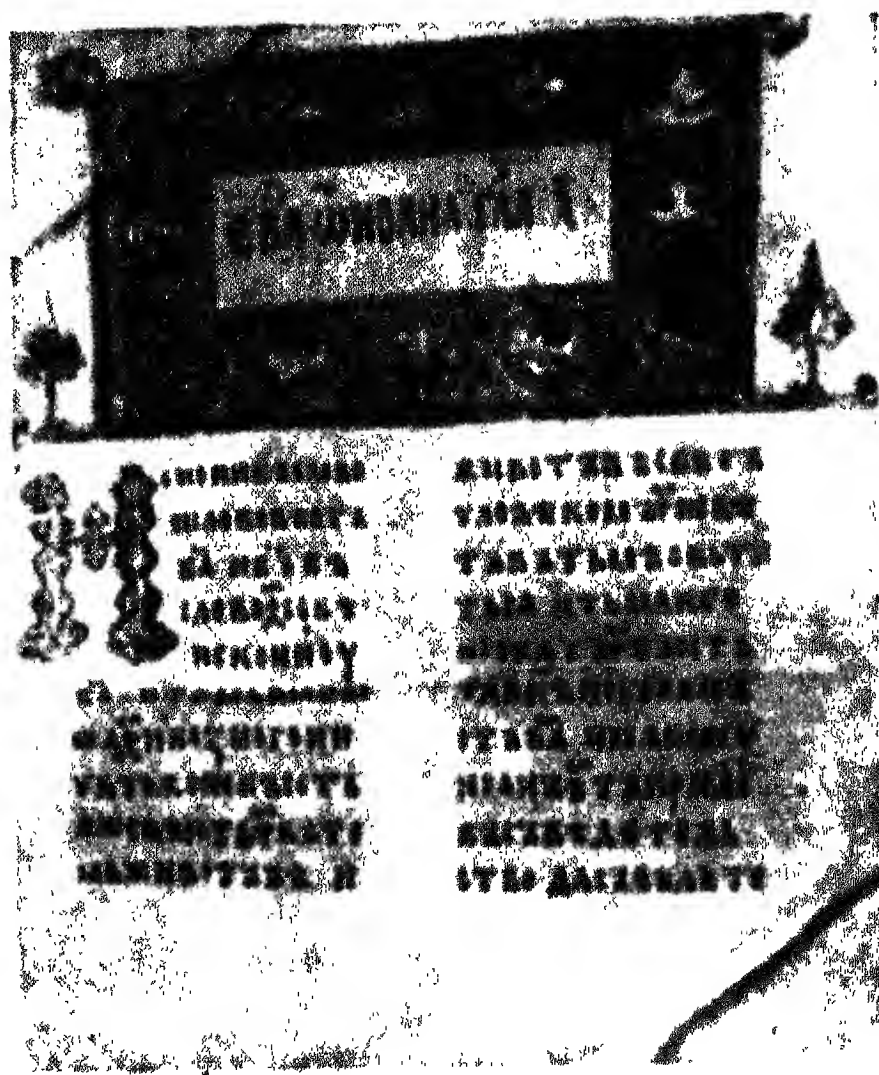


A letter written on birch bark, 11th century A.D.

the concept of unity in the historical development of the Slav peoples and glorifies the might of the Ancient Russian state.

The old Russian builders produced many masterpieces of architecture, in particular the Cathedrals of St. Sophia at Kiev, Novgorod and Polotsk. Painting and the applied arts were at a level that was very high for their time. The culture of Ancient Rus developed out of the centuries-old culture of the East Slavs.

The Old Russian nation took shape within the framework of Ancient Rus and later developed into three fraternal peoples: the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian. Ancient Rus was one of the biggest and most powerful states in medieval Europe.



First page of the *Ostromir Gospel*

Transcaucasus and Central Asia in 9th to 12th Centuries

The process of feudal development on the territory of the Transcaucasus was a very intensive one between the 9th and 12th centuries. Agriculture was the chief occupation of the population and, in addition to field farming, included fruit-growing, grape-growing, wine-making, animal husbandry and silk-worm-breeding; many crafts were followed, including the working of iron. Towns grew up on the trade routes—Dvin, Ani, Kars, Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Shemakha, Baku and others. The economic and political position of the feudal aristocracy became strong, and the peasants became more dependent. At the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries the Transcaucasus was liberated from the Arabs.

In the course of the struggle against Arab domination a number of feudal states sprang up. The Armenian kings of Shirak (of the Bagratid dynasty), who had grown strong by



The monastery of Gelati in Georgia, 11th century

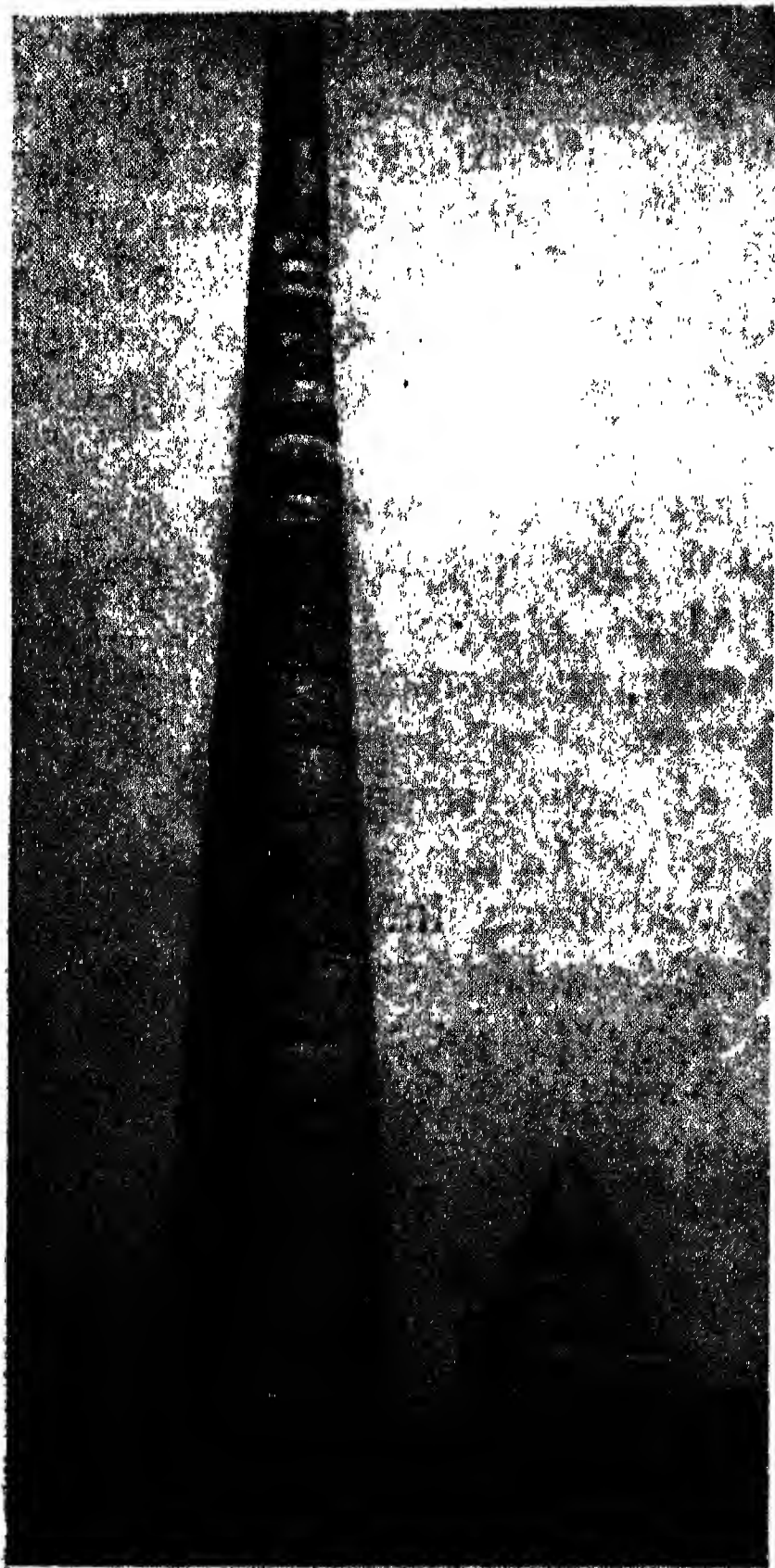
the 9th century, headed the struggle against the Arab Caliphate, and their capital, Ani, became the centre around which the Armenian lands were united. The centre uniting feudal Georgia (9th-10th centuries) was Tao-Klarjeti. Almost the whole of Georgia was united under King Bagrat III (975-1014) but the union was not stable owing to the separatist policy of some of the big feudal lords supported by Byzantium, and the country was again divided into a number of small principalities. In the middle of the 11th century Georgia was the victim of a devastating invasion by the Seljuks. At the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, under King David IV the Builder (1089-1125) who strengthened central state power with the aid of the towns, Georgia grew much stronger. A number of fortresses on Georgian territory were liberated from the Seljuks, among them Tbilisi (1122) which became the Georgian capital. David the Builder added the territories of Eastern Georgia to his kingdom. At the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries trade with other countries developed and there was considerable building activity. Georgia reached the height of political power at the

turn of the 12th and 13th centuries under Queen T'hamar (1184-1213). The Trebizond Empire, a dependency of Georgia, was founded on the south coast of the Black Sea on territory conquered from Byzantium. At this period Georgian culture reached a very high level. The poem *The Knight in the Tiger's Skin* by Shot'ha Rust'hveli, an outstanding work in Georgian and world literature, is permeated with the ideas of humanism and patriotism.

In the early 11th century a large part of Armenia was seized by Byzantium, which disrupted the unity of the Armenian lands and facilitated the later invasion of the Seljuks. The gradual restoration of Armenian economy did not begin until the end of the 11th century; the struggle against the invaders increased. A number of petty Armenian principalities sprang up; many Armenians fled to Cilicia at the time of the Seljuk invasion where they founded an independent Cilician Kingdom (1080-1375). Northern Armenia was liberated from the Seljuks with the aid of Georgia and for a time formed part of that country (12th cent.) as a vassal state with its capital at Ani. Armenia began to rise again at the end of the 12th century; big feudal estates flourished; there were craft industries in the towns, and commercial intercourse with the Northern Black Sea area and other parts developed. This was a period in which Armenian culture made great progress. From the 11th century onwards there were schools of higher learning in Ani, Nor Getik and other towns; Armenian scholars of distinction, such as Mkhitar Geratsi (medicine) and Mkhitar Gosh (law and literature), became famous. Many works of history were written and there was a



Mausoleum of the Samanids, Bokhara



Minaret in Urgench

development of painting, architecture and sculpture.

After the liberation of Azerbaijan from the Arab Caliphate towards the end of the 9th century, a number of petty feudal states grew up. There were many important urban centres—Baku, Ganja, Derbent, Tabriz and others—the crafts made considerable progress and commerce was extended. In the middle of the 11th century the Seljuks invaded Azerbaijan and in the course of the struggle against them Georgian influence grew stronger in that country. Azerbaijan culture flourished and in the 12th century literature of world importance is connected with the names of two poets, Nizami and Haghani.

The rule of the Caliph over Central Asia ended in the 9th century. Towards

the end of that century the Tajik Samanid state was formed and existed for more than 100 years (875-999); the Samanid state embraced all Persia as well as Central Asia. There was considerable economic progress at this time in all branches—agriculture, handicrafts and commerce. The biggest towns were Bokhara, the capital, and Merv. The growing number of lands granted in fief helped accelerate the process of feudalization. Central Asian culture reached an extremely high level and acquired world importance. The great Tajik scholar Ibn Sina (Avicenna) (born circa 980, died 1037), philosopher, naturalist, physician, mathematician and poet, worked in Bokhara. Firdausi, a classic of Tajik

and Persian poetry, produced his famous *Shahnama*, the *Book of Kings*.

Developing feudal relations led to the gradual decay of the Samanid state. In the 10th century the new feudal state of the Karakhanids was formed, embracing the territories of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The Oghuz-Turks, who later formed one of the ethnic elements making up the Turkmenian people, were driven away from the valley of the River Zeravshan by the Karakhanids and withdrew to Merv. Here they founded the Seljuk state that reached the height of its power in the latter half of the 11th century. In the 12th century the Karakhanid and Seljuk states were invaded by the Karakitais and both states were weakened and collapsed. The Karakitais extracted tribute from the population but did nothing to change the social relations of Central Asia.

One of the most highly economically and culturally developed Central Asian states was Khwarezm, situated in a fertile oasis at a junction of caravan routes. The political rise of Khwarezm began at the end of the 12th century and it successfully resisted the Seljuks and Karakitais.

FEUDAL DISUNITY

Feudal Disunity in Rus (Beginning of 12th to End of 15th Centuries)

As early as the middle of the 11th century there were signs of an incipient disintegration of the state. Some of the territories gradually freed themselves from the overlordship of Kiev and a number of new political formations appeared on the territory of Ancient Rus which, in turn, also broke up into smaller units. The period of feudal disunity that set in was a natural stage in the history of the country. The growth of feudal landholdings at a time when natural forms of economy predominated led to the appearance of isolated and self-sufficing feudal demesnes. The power of the Grand Dukes of Kiev was on the wane.

As a result of this process some of the lands and principalities underwent an intensive economic and political development. The tilled area was extended, improved farming methods were employed and new towns grew up as centres of separate feudal principalities. The figures provided by written sources alone

show that in the 11th century over 60 and in the 12th century over 130 new urban centres sprang up in Rus. Many of these towns became important commercial, industrial and cultural centres.

A stubborn struggle began amongst the feudal aristocracy for the ownership of land, towns, peasants and craftsmen and for political supremacy, resulting in frequent internecine warfare.

The Grand Dukes of Kiev (later of Vladimir) still retained their nominal seniority but the growing power of the lands and principalities made them practically independent of Kiev. The Congress of Princes held at Lyubech in 1097 adopted the formula: "Each shall hold his own demesne." The Princes met but only for the purpose of organizing defence against the raids of the nomad horsemen (Polovtsi and others) or to consolidate their forces at times of an acute class struggle. After a big anti-feudal insurrection in Kiev, Vladimir Monomachus, in 1113, succeeded in uniting the country under his jurisdiction, but only for a short time. After the death of his son Mstislav in 1132 the ancient state of Rus was finally broken up. The biggest feudal principalities in the period of feudal disunity were Rostov-Suzdal, closely linked with the Novgorod and Pskov lands, and Galicia-Volhynia.

In the land of Rostov-Suzdal, lying between the Oka and the Volga, there lived tribes belonging to the Finno-Ugric language groups—Merya, Muroma and the Mordovian tribes—as well as Slavs. Although dense forests covered most of the area there had long existed fertile stretches of farm land on which the forests had been burnt down (*opolye*). In these areas towns sprang up and grew to a considerable size, the oldest of them being Rostov and Suzdal. Progress in this principality was accelerated by the influx of people from the Dnieper Basin and the Novgorod lands and by the important trade routes down the Oka and Volga. The 11th and 12th centuries saw a growth in the political importance of the Rostov-Suzdal Principality which separated from Rus in the thirties of the 12th century. Prince Yuri Dolgoruky (reg. 1125-1157) founded a number of new towns: Moscow (first mentioned in the chronicles in 1147), Dmitrov, Yuryev-Polsky, Kostroma and others. Prince Andrei Bogolyubsky (reg. 1157-1174) continued the struggle begun by Dolgoruky for the Grand Duchy of Kiev and in 1169 captured Kiev; he remained in the north and transferred the capital to

Vladimir-on-Klyazma which became the centre of the principality and the seat of the Grand Duke. Andrei Bogolyubsky struggled against the aristocratic boyars to strengthen the power of the Grand Duke and was supported by the *dvoryanstvo*, or feudal gentry, and the townspeople. He was killed as a result of a boyar conspiracy in 1174 and this provided the impetus for a popular uprising against feudal exploitation.



Water-pipes in Novgorod, 12th century

His successor, Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo (The Big Nest) (reg. 1176-1212), quietened the boyars, made the principalities of Novgorod and Murom-Ryazan dependencies of Vladimir-Suzdal and strove to extend his dominions in the east. However, the continued growth of feudal land tenure and of new feudal centres broke up Vladimir-Suzdal into a number of smaller principalities: Pereyaslavl, Rostov, Suzdal, Yaroslavl, Tver, Moscow and others.

The development of the Novgorod-Pskov lands differed from that of the others. Although farming here, too, was the mainstay of the economy, hunting, fishing, the gathering of honey from wild bees, iron-mining and salt-refining also played their part. Novgorod, the centre of the Novgorod lands, was a big town in which handicrafts flourished and which carried on extensive trade with the Russian lands and with other countries; in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries Novgorod was connected with the Hanseatic League of North-European merchant cities. The authority of Novgorod extended over the Baltic lands as far as the Dvina and over Karelia and the Finnish territories. The Novgorod lands included vast northern territories stretching as far as the Urals and inhabited by the Nentsi, Komi and other peoples; from these territories Novgorod obtained the furs that were sent abroad.

The boyars of Novgorod were landowners, they possessed hunting and fishing rights and had an interest in commercial enterprise. The boyars took advantage of popular uprisings

against feudal oppression to ensure their own independence of ducal power. Round about 1136 Novgorod adopted the peculiar political structure of a feudal republic with a ruler whose power was strictly limited; the republic was actually ruled by the boyar aristocracy who imposed their will on the popular assembly (*veche*) in which the entire adult male population of the town participated. The *veche* elected the magistrates (*posadniki*) and the "captains over thousands" (*tysyatskiye*) as the highest representatives of civil-judicial and military authority, and decided questions of inviting a ruler, of war and peace, etc.

Guilds of merchants and artisans were very strong in Novgorod. The social and political development of the city was marked by an acute class struggle with many rebellions of artisans and peasants against feudal oppression (1136, 1207, 1228-1229, 1270 and others). Novgorod and Pskov (the latter was under the dominion of Novgorod until 1348) had to defend themselves against the aggression of German and other feudals from the West. In 1216 Novgorod defended its independence against the encroachment of the Grand Dukes of Vladimir-Suzdal at the battle on the River Lipitsa.

In the Galicia-Volhynian lands the boyars became big landed proprietors. Favourable natural conditions ensured good progress in farming and other agricultural pursuits as well as commerce. In the 12th century the towns grew to a considerable size (Galich, Kholm and others), governed by a *veche* that was in the hands of the richest boyars and merchants. Under Prince Yaroslav Osmomysl (reg. 1152-1187) the Principality of Galicia prospered and became politically powerful, eventually separating from Kiev. In 1199 Prince Roman Mstislavich, after having beaten off the aggressive Hungarian feudals and curtailed the power of his own boyars, united the principalities of Galicia and Volhynia. The Galicia-Volhynian Principality grew strong in battle against the Lithuanian, Polish and Hungarian feudals who attempted to seize its fertile lands. The ducal power, supported by petty landowners and townspeople, also had to struggle against big landed aristocracy. The Principality of Galicia-Volhynia reached the height of its power under Danil Galitsky (reg. 1238-1264), but in the 14th century it was seized by Lithuania and Poland.

The political disunity of the country did not mean that economic and cultural intercourse between its independent parts

ceased altogether. A sense of the unity of the country was retained in the minds of the people. The culture of the period, despite certain local features, was all-Russian in content. The well-known *Lay of Igor's Host* (1185-1187) contained an appeal for unity in face of danger from without.

The further development of the culture of Ancient Rus is to be seen in fine architectural monuments, mosaics and paintings of Kiev, Vladimir, Novgorod and other towns. The copying of books was by this time widespread, the upper strata of the population was literate and in the feudal centres chronicles were kept recording the history of individual lands and principalities and events of all-Russian significance. As was the case in Kiev Rus, cultural relations were maintained with the South Slavs, the Caucasus, Western Europe, etc.

The Struggle of the Peoples of Rus, Central Asia, the Transcaucasus and the Baltic Against the Mongol-Tatar Conquerors and Against German and Swedish Aggression

At the beginning of the 13th century a military-feudal Mongol state headed by Genghis Khan was set up in parts of Southern Siberia and Central Asia. The emergence of the Mongol-Tatar state was due to a process of class differentiation. The demand of the Mongol cattle-owning aristocracy for plunder and tribute gave rise to a policy of conquest, and the Mongol-Tatar state managed to seize huge territories (China and other countries) despite the heroic resistance of the people. The Mongols had a powerful military organization based on strict discipline. The core of their army was formed by strong and very mobile cavalry units. Their successes were also due to the feudal disunity of the countries they attacked.

After a long struggle for the conquest of China and Korea, the Mongols invaded the territory of Central Asia in 1219. The state of Khwarezm was laid waste. Bokhara and Samarkand were captured. The peoples of Central Asia struggled valiantly against the invaders, but feudal disunity made it easy for the Mongol-Tatars to capture the entire area. The Transcaucasus was invaded in 1220. In 1223 the Mongol-Tatars passed through the Gates of Derbent, entered the Polovets steppes and inflicted a defeat on the *druzhini* of the Russian Princes at a battle on the River Kalka in that same year. In the years that followed the Mongol-Tatars made preparations for a large-scale cam-

paing in Eastern Europe. In 1236 their advance on Rus began; that year they destroyed Volga Bulgaria. In 1237 the Mongol-Tatar forces, led by Khan Batu, the grandson of Genghis Khan, advanced through the Mordovian forests and invaded the lands of Ryazan; they besieged and destroyed Old Ryazan. The Russian people put up a heroic resistance and struggled as long as possible to defend their country in a difficult and unequal battle. The hords of Mongol-Tatars took advantage of their numerical superiority and defeated the troops of each principality separately. During the winter of 1237 and 1238 North-East Russia was laid waste. In 1238 the Mongol-Tatars defeated the forces of Prince Yuri Vsevolodovich of Vladimir on the banks of the River Sit, a tributary of the Mologa. The Russian towns suffered greatly from the Mongol-Tatar invasion and this hindered the economic development of Rus in the period that followed. The fierce resistance of the people was not in vain: the Mongol-Tatars suffered tremendous losses and had to relinquish their plan to advance on Novgorod and instead began to withdraw beyond the Volga. On their way back they met everywhere with resistance. In 1238 the little town of Kozelsk put up a magnificent defence and held out for seven weeks



The Battle on the River Sit, 1238. Seventeenth-century miniature (State History Museum)

against overwhelmingly superior forces. Between 1235 and 1239 the Mongol-Tatars conquered the Transcaucasus and destroyed the towns of Ani, Kars, Tbilisi, Ganja, Shemakha and others; everywhere they met with a fierce resistance from the people. By 1245 the invaders had conquered Western Georgia. In 1239 Batu started out on his second campaign which resulted in the conquest of the South Russian principalities, including Kiev (1240). The only Russian lands to escape the Mongol-Tatar invasion were those of Polotsk-Minsk and Novgorod-Pskov.

The dogged, heroic resistance of the Russian people prevented



The Battle on the Ice. Sixteenth-century miniature from the *Illuminated Chronicles*

the Mongol-Tatars from conquering the whole of Europe. Batu's attempts to pass through Bohemia into Central and Western Europe failed: after having already suffered tremendous losses in battles with the Russians he met with the resistance of the Czechs and was, moreover, unwilling to have behind

him countries that had been conquered but not subdued and where the people of the Russian, Central Asian, Volga, Caucasian and other lands were still putting up a resistance; in 1242 he led his troops back to the lower reaches of the Volga and there established the state known as the Golden Horde.

The Russian principalities were in a position of extreme difficulty. The Mongol-Tatars had plundered and laid waste to them and in this weakened condition they were subjected to the aggression of other neighbours—the Swedish and German feudal barons fell on them in the middle of the 13th century. From the end of the 12th century onwards, the German feudals, organized in Knightly Orders, launched their aggression against the Slav and Baltic peoples under the excuse of converting them to Christianity, and in this they had the active support of the Curia Romana (the papal court). The advance of the German knights was accompanied by the forcible conversion of the local population to Christianity and the institution of a brutal system of feudal, national and religious oppression. The Baltic peoples had long been in close contact with the Russian people and the latter sent help to them in their struggle against their enemies. Novgorod, Pskov and other Russian towns on several occasions sent their trainbands into the Baltic countries and the German knights suffered defeats at their hands. The disunity of the liberation movement in the Baltic countries, however, enabled the Germans to conquer large territories by the thirties of the 13th century. In 1237 the Order of Knights Sword-Bearers (*Schwertbrüder*) founded in 1202, was united with the Teutonic Order which had a separate division in Latvia and Estonia known as the Livonian Order. The German knights increased their campaigns against the Baltic lands and began to approach the bounds of the Novgorod and Pskov lands. They were joined in their aggression against the Russian lands by the Swedish feudals who appeared in 1240. In the battle on the Neva (1240) the Novgorod trainbands, led by Prince Alexander Yaroslavich, surnamed Nevsky in honour of the victory, completely routed the Swedes. Two years later, in 1242, Alexander Nevsky dealt a crushing defeat to the knights of the Livonian Order in a battle on Lake Chudskoye (Peipus) which became known as the Battle on the Ice; the knights were driven back from the Russian lands and the independence of the Novgorod feudal republic was saved.

The latter half of the 13th century was the most difficult period for Rus under the yoke of Mongol-Tatar rule. The Mongol-Tatars extracted heavy tribute from the Russian lands, the Payment to the Horde, and made many raids on Russian lands bringing ruin to the population. The Mongol khans made a census of the population to establish the amount of tribute to be paid. Their satraps (*baskaki*) maintained a control over the gathering of tribute and set up a brutal regime of terror and violence. Politically the Russian principalities were dependencies of the Golden Horde and the khans of the Horde issued a patent (*yarlik*) to each ruler. The disunity of the feudal system in Russia was advantageous to the conquerors and they did their utmost to foster hostility among the Princes. Rival Princes often appealed to the khans for help, sacrificing the independence of their lands in their own personal interest and bringing fresh hordes of Mongol-Tatars into the country to fight against their enemies. Even under these conditions the Russian people continued their struggle against the invaders. There were popular uprisings in many places (Novgorod, 1259; Rostov, Yaroslavl, Suzdal and other towns, 1262; Tver, 1293 and 1327, etc.) in which the struggle for liberation from the Mongol-Tatar yoke was closely linked up with the anti-feudal struggle.

The Social and Economic System of the Russian Lands in the 14th and 15th Centuries

The Mongol-Tatar invasion wrecked the production forces of the country and hampered social and economic development. The labour of the people, however, gradually made good the terrific losses caused by the invasion. The economy of the Russian lands began to recover in the latter half of the 14th century. The productive forces were reconstituted firstly in the main branch of economy, agriculture. The movement of the population in the period of the Mongol-Tatar yoke to the better defended districts between the Oka and the Volga gave those regions a denser population and made for progress in the economy of North-East Rus. New land was broken to the plough, the iron ploughshare was introduced and in the 15th century the three-field system of crop rotation became more widespread. In addition to field farming there was extensive animal husbandry, salt was refined, there was some hunting (for

beaver) and fishing; the crafts were revived, especially working in iron and wood.

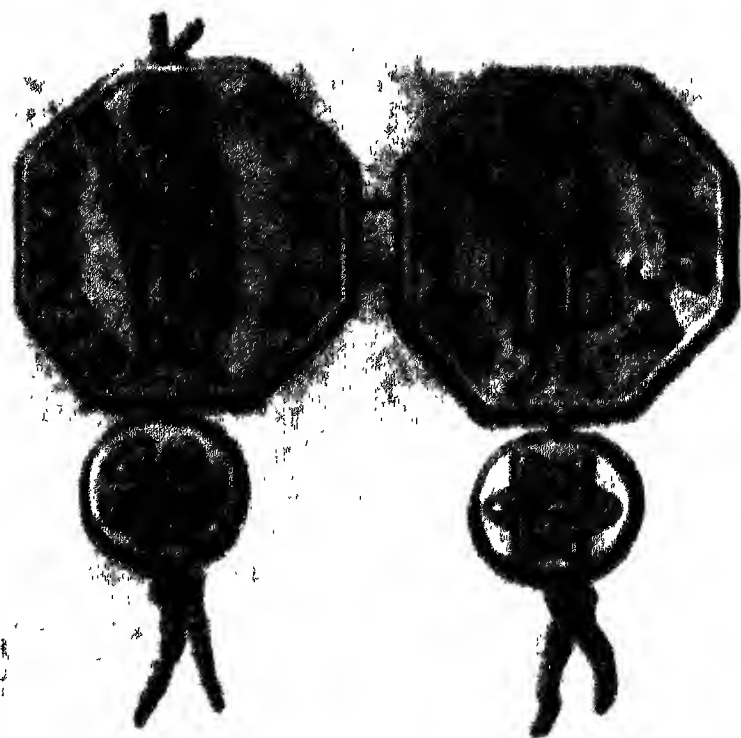
In 1285, building in stone was recommenced in Tver, and in 1326 the Muscovites also began the erection of stone buildings. In the 14th and 15th centuries stone buildings appeared in many Russian towns. In the sixties of the 14th century the Moscow Kremlin, a strong fortress, was rebuilt in stone. The working of metals was common in all towns and somewhat later metal-casting made its appearance. Towards the end of the 14th century cannon were cast and were first employed in battle at the time of Khan Toktamish's raid on Moscow in 1382. Trading and handicrafts centres again flourished, especially those of Moscow, Novgorod, Tver and Nizhny Novgorod. Intercourse with the countries of the East and West was re-established. There was a merchant guild in Novgorod known as the Ivan Hundred (*Ivanskoye sto*); in Moscow there were two guilds—the Surozhane, trading with Surozh (Sudak) and Kafa (Feodosia) and through them with the Near-East countries, and the Cloth Guild (*sukonniki*) that traded with the West. At the end of the 15th century merchant companies for distant trading enterprises (*skladnichestva*) grew up. These companies engaged in journeys to distant lands. In the latter half of the 15th century, Afanasy Nikitin, a merchant of Tver, made a journey to India which he described in his *Voyage Beyond Three Seas* (*Khozhdeniye za tri morya*). The most powerful feudals—the monasteries, boyars and Princes—participated in merchant enterprises. The growth of commerce facilitated the unification of the Russian lands. Nevertheless trading and money relations remained at a low level in the 14th and 15th centuries. At the same time more land was concentrated in the hands of the feudals, especially the Princes and monasteries. The Troitse-Sergievsky, Kirillo-Belozersky and Solovetsky monasteries, founded about this time, became the feudal owners of large tracts of land with farms, hunting, fishing and other sources of income. In the 14th and 15th centuries the amount of land granted conditionally (in fief), a system that had been initiated in Ancient Rus, increased greatly. The expansion of the feudal holdings was mainly at the expense of peasant lands, often simply by the seizure of them, and was sanctioned by the authority of the Prince. The predominating form of rent was quitrent paid in kind, but corvée service was also practised. The growth of the feudal holdings and feudal

exploitation met with the resistance of the peasants which was expressed in armed conflicts, flight from the land, etc. The religious "heresies" of the period were a form of class protest against the official feudal church.

Unification of Russian Lands Around Moscow Begun. Battle of Kulikovo, 1380

North-Eastern Russia was the chief centre of Russian economic and political life at the time of the Mongol-Tatar yoke. The biggest political centre in the area at the end of the 13th century was Tver, but at the beginning of the 14th century there began a struggle between the Princes of Moscow and those of Tver who held the khan's patent as Grand Dukes. The Principality of Moscow (Muscovy) grew in strength very rapidly: in 1301 it was joined by Kolomna, in 1302 by Pereyaslavl-Zalessky and in 1303 by Mozhaisk. The Moscow Princes succeeded in getting the church on their side and this proved of great importance in strengthening their political influence. Moscow became the seat of the Metropolitan of All Russia. The Moscow Princes also succeeded in winning the confidence of the khans of the Golden Horde and used them in their struggle against Tver. The patent of a Grand Duke was granted in 1328 to Ivan Danilovich, surnamed Kalita (money-bag) (reg. 1325-1340), who obtained a long respite from the Mongol-Tatar raids and thus ensured a period of prosperity for the economy of Muscovy.

In the latter half of the 14th century other North-East Russian principalities gained strength economically and politically—Tver regained its influence and the Suzdal-Nizhny Novgorod and Ryazan principalities again came to the fore. In the sixties and seventies of that century Tatar raids on the Russian lands became more numerous and Muscovy undertook to unite the Russian lands



The seal of Ivan Kalita, Grand Duke of Moscow.
From a church document written about 1339



The Battle of Kulikovo. Late sixteenth-century miniature (Lenin State Library, Moscow)

for a struggle against them. The Principality of Muscovy repulsed the attacks of the Grand Duke Olgherdas of Lithuania, inflicted defeats on the principalities of Suzdal-Nizhny Novgorod, Tver and Ryazan and made the necessary preparations for a decisive battle with the Golden Horde.

In 1378, the Russian *druzhini* achieved their first victory over the Mongol-Tatar forces in open battle on the River Vozha in Ryazan territory. In an effort to re-establish the rule of the

Golden Horde over the lands of Rus, the Tatar general Mamai concluded an alliance with Jagailo, Grand Duke of Lithuania, and mustered a huge army; he also relied on the treachery of Oleg, Prince of Ryazan. To do battle with Mamai a huge Russian force assembled in Moscow which included trainbands of citizen and peasant irregulars. This army was headed by Dmitry Ivanovich, Grand Duke of Muscovy (reg. 1359-1389), surnamed Donskoi in honour of the victory at Kulikovo on the River Don, where he led his army and where the Mongol-Tatar invaders were routed on September 8, 1380. Although the Battle of Kulikovo did not put an end to the Mongol-Tatar yoke it served to show the growing might of Rus and was possible only on account of the unification of the Russian principalities that had been effected by Muscovy. Muscovy had by then completely established herself as the chief centre of the lands of Rus, and Grand Duke Dmitry Donskoi, for the first time without the sanction of the Golden Horde, passed the Grand Duchy on to his son Vasily I (reg. 1389-1425). Muscovy's rulers, supported by the townspeople and the middle and petty feudal landholders, continued a persistent struggle for the unification of the Russian lands and their security from foreign invasion.

The feudal war that broke out in the second quarter of the 15th century helped weld the Russian principalities into a single state. In this war the independent Princes, headed by Prince Yuri of Zvenigorod and Galich and, later, by his son Dmitry Shemyaka, fought against those in favour of state centralization who were headed by the Grand Duke of Muscovy, Vasily II (reg. 1425-1462), surnamed the Dark (*Tyomny*) because he had been blinded.



A Russian soldier's coat of mail

Although Vasily the Dark suffered a number of defeats, the final victory was on the side of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy. It is typical of the new period that the war was not fought (as were the fourteenth-century struggles) to deprive Muscovy of the leadership in Rus, but for the throne of the Grand Duchy itself on account of the prestige and significance of Muscovy. By the end of the 15th century political and economic conditions were ripe for the formation of a single Russian state in the form of feudal monarchy. The advances made both in agriculture and in the urban handicraft industries had served to strengthen economic intercourse between the separate lands.

However, the destruction of the towns resulting from the Mongol-Tatar invasion and the foreign yoke led to a considerable strengthening of the political and economic position of the feudal lords while isolation from world trade routes made conditions unfavourable for the development of capitalist elements. The centralized Russian state, therefore, had a strictly feudal basis. The growth of feudal land tenure and the emergence of a new group within the feudal class—the *dvoryanstvo*, or nobility—who were interested in a strong central power, capable of ensuring the submission of the peasants, provided social support for the rule of the Grand Duke. The policy of unification pursued by the rulers of Muscovy was supported by the urban population who regarded the power of the Grand Duchy as a reliable defence against external enemies and internecine struggles and was also capable of developing commercial intercourse between the Russian lands. The Grand Duchy of Muscovy was also supported by the boyars serving in the army and by the church.

The grave danger threatening Russia from without served to accelerate the establishment of a centralized state capable of ensuring the country's independence.

In the period of feudal disunity the East Slavs gradually evolved three fraternal nationalities—Great Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian—all derived from the people of Ancient Rus. In the 14th and 15th centuries the specific features of the Great Russian language became clearly defined as did also the common Russian territory, the heart of which was the area lying between the Oka and the Volga. By the 16th century the formation of the Russian nation had been, in the main, completed.

There was very great cultural progress in Russia in the 14th and 15th centuries. The idea of the struggle for the unification

of the Russian lands and liberation from the Mongol-Tatar yoke was the central theme of all culture in those years. It was very strongly expressed in the chronicles, especially the Moscow chronicles, and in literary works (*Skazaniye o Mamayevom poboishche*, *Zadonshchina*, *Zhitiye Dmitriya Donskogo*, *Khronograf*).* Art reached a high level—paintings by F. Grek and, especially, Andrei Rublyov; architectural progress was to be seen in the building of the Kremlin cathedrals in Moscow, the Church of the Redeemer in Kovalyov and the Church of the Assumption in Volotov (Novgorod), and others.

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Baltic in 13th-15th Centuries

The formation of the Lithuanian state took place in the middle of the 13th century resulting from the development of feudal relations among the Lithuanian tribes and the necessity to defend the country against German aggression in the Baltic area. The Lithuanians and Russians fought together in this struggle. In the course of the conflict with the foreign enemy the Lithuanian state took form and with it the Lithuanian nation. The unification of the Lithuanian tribes began under Prince Mindaugas (mid. 13th cent.) and was continued more intensively under Gediminas (reg. 1316-1341). At the time of the Mongol-Tatar invasion the Lithuanian feudal lords took advantage of the weakening of the Russian lands to seize West-Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories. The inclusion of territories with a highly developed feudal system in the Lithuanian state had a big influence on Lithuanian statehood and on the social structure and culture; the people living on those territories, however, suffered greatly from the oppression of the Lithuanian feudal lords. In the 14th-15th centuries serfdom was introduced and with it the exploitation of the peasantry was intensified.

The growing aggression of the Teutonic Order towards the end of the 14th century led to the conclusion of the Union of Krevés in 1385, uniting Lithuania and Poland, which played a positive role in the struggle against the Order but led to the infiltration of the Polish nobility (*szlachta*) and Catholicism

* *Tale of the Battle with Mamai, Beyond the Don, Life of Dmitry Donskoi, Chronography.*—Tr.



Kremlin in Tallinn

into the Lithuanian lands; this called forth resistance from part of the Lithuanian and Russian population under the leadership of Vytautas.

At the beginning of the 15th century the struggle against the Teutonic Order reached its height. In 1410 the historic battle of Grünwald took place in which the Knights of the Teutonic Order were completely routed by combined Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Czech forces; this was the beginning of the decline of the Order. Feudalism developed, the system of serfdom was given legal form; the towns,

enjoying self-government under the Magdeburg Law, made considerable economic progress. In the 14th and 15th centuries the ruling feudal class in Lithuania acquired a regular organization with several strata—the big landed proprietors (*panove*) and the middle and petty feudals (*szlachta*). The higher feudal aristocracy constituted the Council (*Rada*) limiting the powers of the Grand Duke; in addition to this there were also conferences of feudals (*sejm*). Local authority was in the hands of the Grand Duke's appointees. The policy of centralization pursued by Grand Duke Vytautas and his efforts to achieve independence from Poland did not meet with success.

In the 14th and 15th centuries the territories of Latvia and Estonia were under the rule of the German feudals who exploited their populations. The Baltic towns, Riga, Cesis, Valmiera, Tallinn, Tartu and others, grew into important commercial and industrial centres. The Baltic peoples, supported by the Russian lands, struggled against foreign oppression. The biggest rebellion of the Estonian people lasted from 1343 to 1345 (known as St. George's Night—*Yuryeva noch*) which the

Livonian Order was able to suppress only with the aid of troops brought from Prussia.

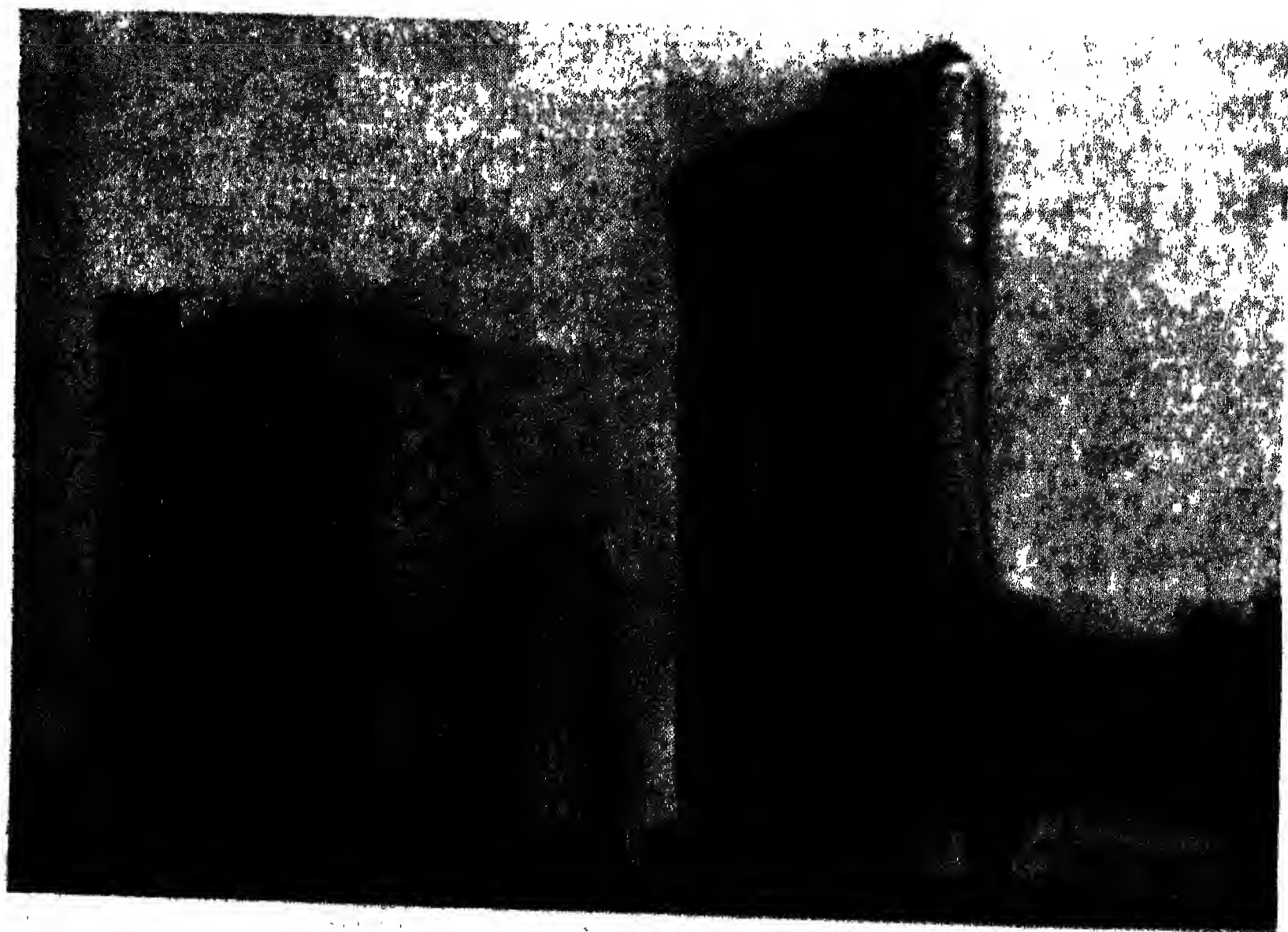
The Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia in 14th-15th Centuries

The Mongol-Tatar conquests resulted in the separation of the South-Russian and West-Russian lands from the other parts of Rus. The principalities which became the objects of aggression on the part of Polish, Hungarian and Lithuanian feudal lords were unable to maintain their independence. The Transcarpathian area was seized by Hungarian feudals (13th century) and Galicia by Polish feudals (mid. 14th century). A considerable part of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands (the principalities of Volhynia and Vitebsk, lands belonging to Turov-Pinsk, Kiev, Pereyaslavl, Chernigov-Seversky and others) were annexed by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the middle of the 14th century. In the 14th and 15th centuries there was considerable economic progress, the towns grew and the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationalities took shape. The literature, architecture and painting of the Ukraine and Byelorussia of the period developed under the influence of Russian culture and were filled with the idea of an historical unity of purpose that existed between the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands, the unity of their struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke. The Lithuanian state abolished the old principalities in the Ukraine and Byelorussia and replaced them by governor's provinces. Lithuanian feudals and Polish and German middle-class elements held privileged positions. The unbearable oppression of serfdom spread over the Ukraine and Byelorussia and there were frequent anti-feudal uprisings throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. When the Russian lands began to unite around Moscow and the Lithuanian and Polish feudals increased their aggression against the Russian lands, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, that had played a positive role in the defence of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands against the Livonian Order and the Mongol-Tatar invaders, became a hindrance to the economic and cultural development of those countries.

An independent Moldavian feudal state emerged in the latter half of the 14th century as a result of the Moldavian rebellion against the Hungarian feudals. The rebellion was supported by the Ukrainian population of the Transcarpathian area and Bukovina.

Central Asia and Transcaucasus in 14th and 15th Centuries

The Mongol-Tatar yoke had a devastating effect on the economic development of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. Agriculture went into decay and the towns suffered tremendous damage. The slow development of the production forces, the shifting of world trade with India and China from the caravan routes of Central Asia to the new sea routes and feudal internecine struggle hindered economic development. In the second half of the 14th century a powerful state was built up in Central Asia by Timur (Tamerlane, reg. 1370-1405) who made raids into the Transcaucasus, Asia Minor, Persia and China, laying waste the countryside. Timur routed Toktamish, Khan of the Golden Horde, and in 1395 launched a campaign against Rus, but returned after reaching Yelets. The population of the countries subordinated to Timur paid a land-tax (*kharaj*) and a poll-tax (*jezia*), were forced to do arduous corvée service and perform other compulsory duties. There was a constant struggle against the native and the Mongol feudals. In 1365



The ruins of Akserai, Timur's palace at Shahr-i-yabz
(Mawerannahr)

and 1366 there was an extensive popular uprising in Samarkand under the leadership of Maulana Zada and Abu Bekr Kelevi. In 1388 an insurrection broke out in Khwarezm. After Timur's death strife began amongst the feudal lords in the lands that had composed his empire. In the course of the 15th century and in the early 16th century a number of khanates sprang up in Central Asia—the Uzbek, Bokhara and Khwarezm khanates. The eastern part of Central Asia was included in Mogulistan, the empire of the nomad horsemen. Herat and Samarkand became important political centres. In Samarkand Ulug Bek (1409-1449) ruled in the early 15th century, a period in which Central Asian culture reached a high level; at this time the famous Samarkand Observatory was built. At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries the chief agricultural areas of Central Asia were conquered by nomad Uzbek tribes.

The Transcaucasian countries were rent by feudal disunity in the 15th century and Georgia was broken up into a number of small principalities. The states existing on the territories of Armenia and Aberhaijan were subject to the alliances of nomad tribes, the Ak Koyunlu and the Kara Koyunlu ("White Sheep" and "Black Sheep"). At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries the Transcaucasian countries were invaded by the Turks and Persians.

Collapse of the Golden Horde

Constant internecine wars accompanied the fourteenth-century development of feudalism among the Mongol-Tatars of the Golden Horde. Timur dealt the Horde a crushing blow at the end of the 14th century. An important factor accelerating the collapse of the Horde was the struggle of the Russian people against the Mongol-Tatar yoke and the centralization of the Russian state that was bound up with this struggle. In the early sixties of the 14th century Khwarezm separated from the Golden Horde and at the end of the century the Great Nogai Horde became independent. In 1427 the Khanate of Crimea and in the thirties of the same century the Khanate of Kazan were set up. In the same period the Uzbek Khanate was established and at the end of the century several Kazakh khanates separated from it. At the end of the 15th century the Siberian Khanate also broke away from the Uzbek Khanate. The Astrakhan Khanate was also established on the Lower Volga

(circa 1459-1460). The level of social and economic relations differed in the various khanates of the former Golden Horde but general development was in the direction of a feudal social system.

RUSSIAN CENTRALIZED MULTINATIONAL STATE in LATE 15th and 16th CENTURIES

Formation of Russian Centralized State

The state unification of Rus, prepared by the whole course of social and economic development, was particularly successful during the reigns of the Grand Dukes of Muscovy Ivan III (reg. 1462-1505) and Vasily III (reg. 1505-1533). The Principality of Yaroslavl effected a union in 1463, and that of Rostov in 1474. Of great significance was the union of the lands of the Novgorod feudal republic in 1478. A number of the Novgorod boyars and bigger merchants tried to retain their independence with the help of Lithuania. In November 1470 they invited the Grand Duke of Lithuania to Novgorod. In the spring of 1471 the boyar government of Novgorod concluded a treaty with the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Casimir IV of Poland for military aid. The actions of the boyars led to a sharpening of social contradictions in Novgorod. The majority of the population, both urban and rural, favoured unification with the Russian lands, headed by Moscow, within the framework of a centralized Russian state. Ivan III took advantage of the class contradictions within the feudal republic and with the support of the urban population and the peasants made war on Novgorod and in 1471 defeated the Novgorod forces at a battle on the River Shelon. Ivan III then concluded a treaty with Novgorod that increased its dependence on the Grand Duke. In 1478 the Principality of Novgorod with its extensive lands was united with the Grand Duchy of Muscovy. The *veche* in Novgorod was abolished, a considerable number of Novgorod boyars were "removed" from the region and the landed estates of the Moscow *dvoryanstvo* were extended at their expense.

After the annexation of Novgorod the lands of the Principality of Tver were surrounded by those of the centralized state then in process of formation. In 1485 the Principality of Tver also became part of the Russian state. In the eighties of the 15th century, Ivan III intervened in the affairs of Pskov, making use of the peasant and urban movement against the local



Plan of Novgorod from a sixteenth-century icon

feudals. The annexation of Pskov, that had for a long time been factually dependent on Moscow, took place in 1510. The Principality of Ryazan, that had also been dependent on Moscow over a long period, finally lost its independence in 1521.

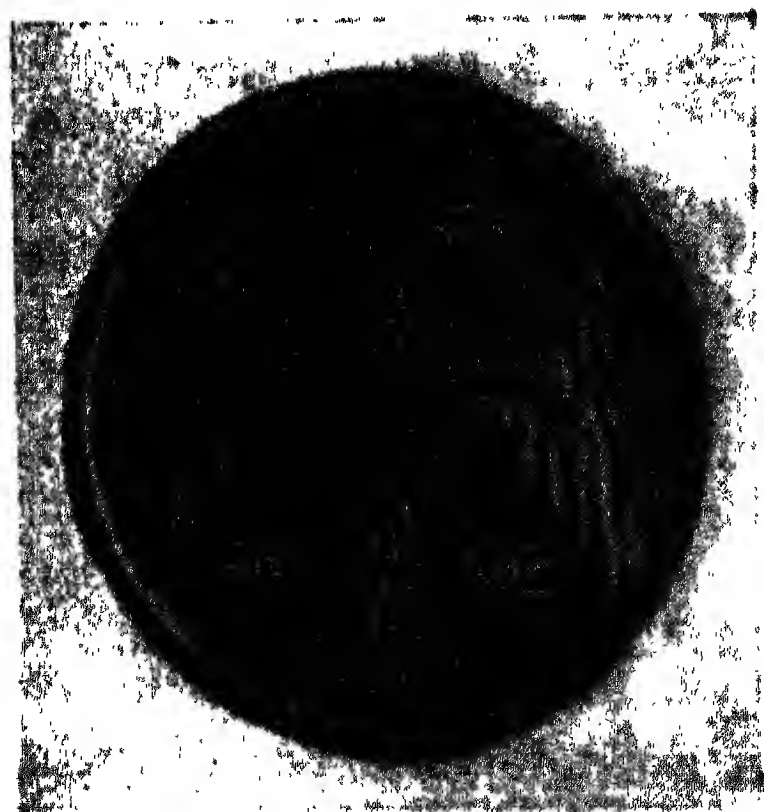
Large areas of Russian territory were under the rule of Lithuania. A series of wars fought towards the end of the 15th century and in the early 16th century for the recovery of the Russian lands, brought the territories around the upper reaches of the Oka, Desna, Sozh and other rivers back into the Russian state, and in 1514 the ancient Russian town of Smolensk that had been under Lithuanian rule since 1404 was returned to Russia.

Together with the unification of the Russian state a number of peoples who had long been historically associated with the Russians entered the Russian state: the peoples of the North and the Volga basin—part of the Mari, Yugra, Komi (end of 14th cent.), Pechora, Karelians (end of 15th cent.) and others. The Russian centralized state took shape as a multinational state in which were included a number of peoples who had not developed into separate nations but who had been united by membership of a common state.

The unification of the country in a single state was of great historical importance: it ensured the development of economy and culture and facilitated defence against foreign invasion. By the eighties of the 15th century the contours of the centralized

state organization had been clarified: the power of the Grand Duke was greatly augmented and the feudal aristocracy, formerly independent vassals, had become subjects of the Grand Duke. The refusal of service to the Grand Duke of Muscovy came to be treated as high treason. Central governmental bodies were formed—the Boyar Council (*Boyarskaya Duma*) and the ministries (*prikazy*); a new system of military organization was introduced in which trainbands drawn from the estates of the nobility (*dvoryanskoye pomestnoye opolcheniye*) played a leading role. The state authorities took decisive measures to strengthen the economic position of the *dvoryanstvo* and their power over the peasantry. There was a rapid development of estates with villages whose inhabitants were vassals of the landlord (these estates were called *pomestnye*). Of great significance in strengthening the centralized state was the first *Legal Code* (*Sudebnik*) adopted by Ivan III in 1497. By legalizing the custom of manumitting serfs at the will of their owner only once a year (on St. George's Day [*Yuryev Den*]) the *Sudebnik* of 1497 provided the basis for the institution of serfdom throughout the country as a legal form of relationship between landlord and peasant.

The unification of the centralized Russian state was the cause of an intensified struggle against the boyars who tried to curtail the growing power of the *dvoryanstvo* and the autocratic rule of the Grand Duke. The latter, however, succeeded in suppressing the conspiracies and rebellions of the boyar aristocracy that took place at the end



Arms of the Russian state (on the seal of Ivan III)

of the 15th and in the early 16th century. The church assisted in the strengthening of the power of the state and the Grand Duke assisted the church in its struggle against those who wished to weaken its economic power by pointing to the sin of acquiring property and demanding the confiscation of the church lands; the church, therefore, was the loyal ally of the Grand Duke.

The unification of the Russian lands made Moscow the

centre of all foreign political activity. At the end of the 15th century the government of Ivan III countered the machinations of enemies striving to prevent the strengthening of the state by skilful use of the contradictions among the enemies of the Russian state—between the Golden Horde and the Crimean Khanate, between the Crimean Khanate and Poland, between Lithuania and the Livonian Order, etc. The campaigns of 1467 and 1469 ensured temporary security from the Khanate of Kazan and the government then turned their attention to the final abolition of the Mongol-Tatar yoke and of dependence on the Golden Horde. By concluding a treaty with Mengli-Girai, Khan of Crimea, the Russian state weakened the forces of its enemies. In 1476 the payment of tribute to the Golden Horde ceased. The campaign launched by Ahmad, Khan of the Golden Horde, in 1480 and his operations on the River Ugra ended in defeat. The Mongol-Tatar yoke that had hampered the development of productive forces in Rus and was one of the chief causes of its backwardness, came to an end; the removal of the yoke, prepared by the long, heroic struggle of the Russian people, was a tremendous foreign political event for the Russian state. Lithuania, the Livonian Order and other enemies of Russia were defeated in their clashes with the new state. Political relations with other states were also extended. The formation of a centralized state power in Russia had great significance for the peoples of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia who had a Russian orientation in their struggle against foreign aggressors.

The unification of Russia under the Grand Duchy of Muscovy resulted in considerable cultural progress in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. In the religious form typical of medieval times, the Russian writings of the period dealt with the necessity for strengthening the Russian state (*Tale of the Princes of Vladimir* [*Skazaniye o knyazyakh Vladimirskikh*], letters from Monk Filofei of Yeleazar Monastery [Pskov] to Grand Duke Vasily III in which the idea of Moscow as the "third Rome" was first mooted, and others). These writings stressed the leading role of Moscow and provided a basis for its leadership not only of all Russian lands, but of all countries in which Orthodox Christianity was practised. The idea of strengthening a centralized state was also supported by the chroniclers.

This was a flourishing period for Russian painting and architecture. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries a fine

group of buildings was erected within the Kremlin and a new Kremlin wall was built. The architectural treatment of the Kremlin buildings embodied the concept of the growing strength of the Russian state.

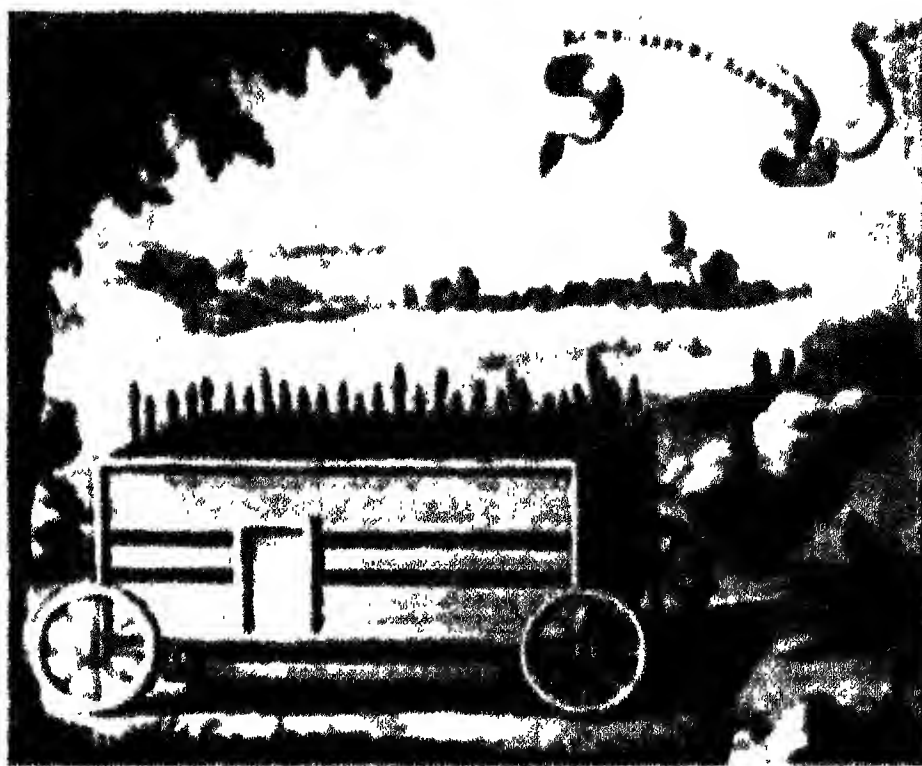
Consolidation of Russian State in 16th Century

There was considerable development of feudal relations in the 16th century. New lands were brought under the plough both in the north and the south; livestock-breeding also made progress. More and more land became feudal property, the estates of the *dvoryanstvo*, in particular, increasing in number. The extension of the *pomestye* system of feudal land tenure was an important feature in strengthening the centralized Russian state. By the conversion of the peasants' "black" lands into feudal property, individual landed proprietors extended the basis for the exploitation of the peasantry with a consequent increase of feudal oppression. By the end of the 16th century corvée service was very widespread. Ruined peasants and townspeople became the bondsmen of the landed proprietors. As the social division of labour developed the towns grew and with them came increased commercial and money relations. Craftsmen of over 200 different trades worked in the sixteenth-century Russian towns and trade relations between different parts of the country grew rapidly. By the end of the 16th century some regions had begun to specialize in their manufactures, generally depending on geographical conditions (the production of iron in the Novgorod region, tanning and leather goods in Vologda, Yaroslavl, Novgorod, etc.). Property differentiation in urban and rural areas was accelerated. Owing to the unification of the Russian lands having taken place at a time when the feudal system predominated, very considerable political and economic disunity remained. The economic basis of the boyars' power, their huge landed estates, still remained, and local authority was in their hands. They were little dependent on the central power so that many local features, such as local tariff barriers, were still preserved. The more powerful feudal lords even had their own armed forces. Some principalities had preserved their independence. The Princes and the boyars were determined to retain their privileges and struggled constantly against the central authority. In the middle of the 16th century the boyars succeeded in seizing power, taking

advantage of the minority of Grand Duke Ivan IV (the period known as the "Rule of the Boyars," 1538-1547). The rule of the boyars had a deadly effect on the economic and political position of the Russian state. The arbitrary character of local rule by the boyars in the provinces, the frequent conspiracies and battles between rival groups of boyars were a heavy burden on the shoulders of the people;

this led to a more acute class struggle. The Moscow rebellion in 1547 showed the acuteness of class relations in the country. The reign of Ivan IV, surnamed the Terrible (*Grozny*), began in these conditions.

In 1547, with the support of the church (especially of Metropolitan Makary), the *dvoryanstvo* and the urban population who desired a strong central power, Ivan IV was solemnly crowned tsar; the title was intended to stress the strength and independence of the autocracy. During the first years of his reign Ivan IV was compelled to compromise with the boyar aristocracy in order to unite the class of feudal landowners for the class struggle, but his home and foreign policy was directed mainly towards strengthening the *dvoryanstvo* and the protection of their class interests. The unofficial government body known as the Select Council (*Izbrannaya Rada*) that came into being under Ivan IV consisted of representatives of the newly created nobility, the *dvoryanstvo*, representatives of the clergy, with a few representatives of the more powerful boyar group; in the fifties this Council effected a number of reforms. The *dvoryanstvo* were granted new lands. The Service Ordinance (*Ulozheniye o sluzhbe*) (circa 1556) introduced strict order into the organization of the trainbands of the nobility which had become the main military force of the Russian state. In addition, regular infantry (*streltsi*) were recruited and more attention was paid to artillery and army engineers. Fiscal reforms improved the system of tax-gathering



Mobile Fort (*Gulai-gorod*). Late seventeenth-century engraving from a book by N. Wilsen (1692)

and increased the burden of taxation. In 1555 the system of local governors (*kormleniye*) was abolished and elected local bodies were introduced. At the same time the criminal court was introduced (*gubnoi sud*) and cases of murder and highway robbery (which included all acts directed against the feudal system) were taken out of the hands of local officials and were tried by the court elders (*gubniye starosti*) who were selected from among the *dvoryanstvo* and were subordinated to the Criminal Office (*Razboiny prikaz*). These reforms helped centralize the government and at the same time increased the political power of the nobility in the provinces. A new *Sudebnik* was drawn up in 1550 for the purpose of still further strengthening the central government and the power of feudal landlords over their peasants. The highest state body was the Boyar Council in addition to which the tsar had a privy council of boyars "close" to him who advised him on important state matters. In the middle of the 16th century a Conclave of the Lands (*Zemsky Sobor*), an institution of representatives of the

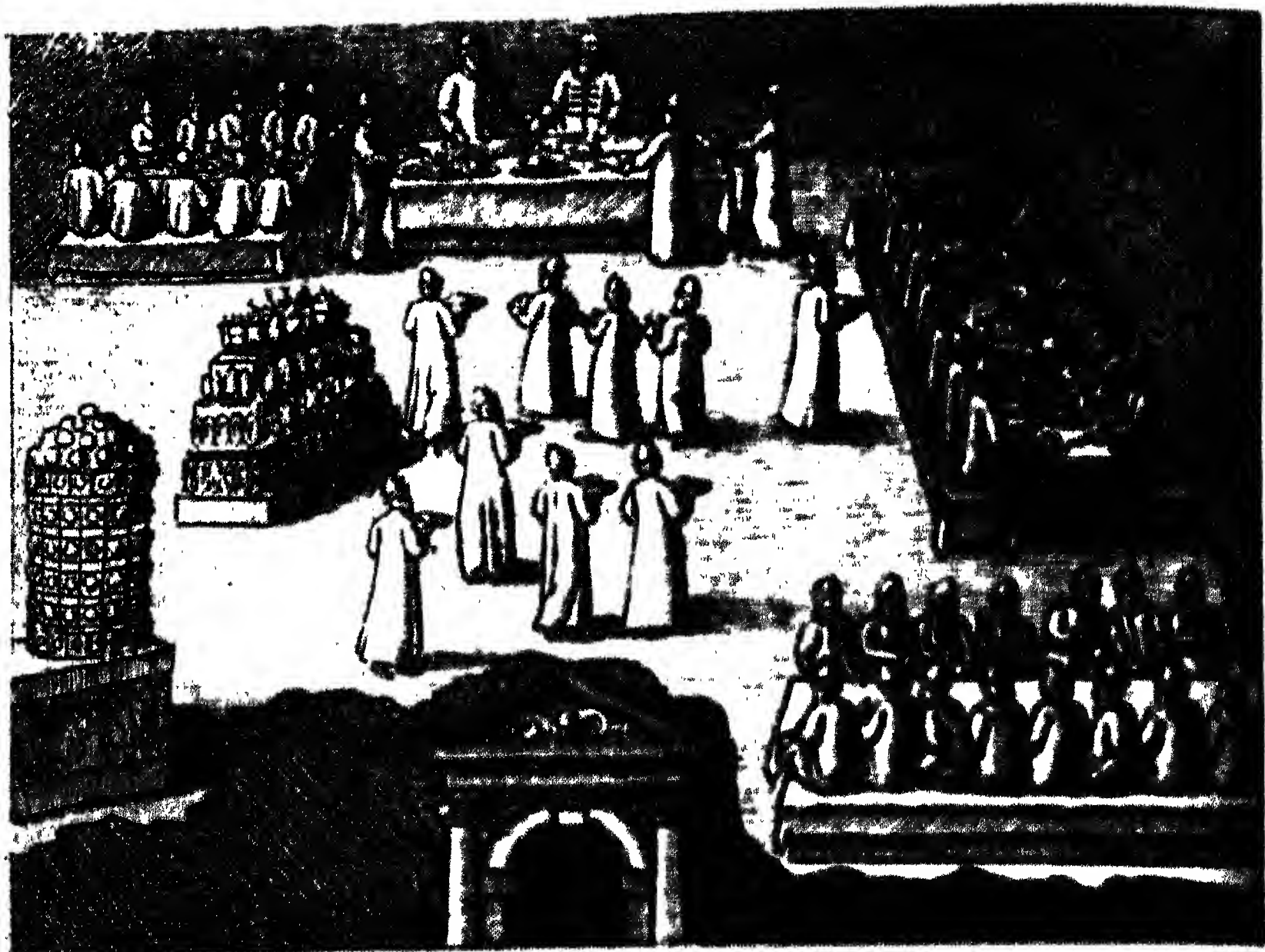


Meeting of the Boyar Council. Detail of Ivan the Terrible's "Royal Seat"
in the Cathedral of the Assumption, Moscow Kremlin. Gilded
wood-carving, 1551

social estates, was set up. It was first convened in 1549, and later met irregularly. The Conclave had purely advisory functions. The system of ministries or *prikazi* was developed, special importance attaching to the Ministry of War (*Razryadny prikaz*) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Posolsky prikaz*).

As the central authority grew stronger there were greater possibilities of solving urgent foreign political problems; the determining factor was the desire of the *dvoryanstvo* for more land and their demand that they be made secure from Tatar raids. The war of 1552 ended in the collapse of the Khanate of Kazan and that of 1556 abolished the Khanate of Astrakhan; in 1557 the Great Nogai Horde recognized its dependence on the Russian state. The Bashkirs, who had been in the power of the Kazan and Nogai feudals, voluntarily accepted Russian rule and became Russian subjects (1557). The annexation of the whole Volga basin made possible further colonization and the annexation of Siberia in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The tsar and the landowners exercised a system of colonial oppression over the peoples of the Volga basin and the Urals area. The Tatar feudal lords and those of other nationalities became part of the ruling class of Russia. The inclusion of these peoples in the composition of the Russian state was objectively progressive because it brought about the introduction of more up-to-date economic trends. Some of the feudal lords in the newly annexed territories tried to use the class struggle of the Volga peoples against feudal oppression for the re-establishment of their own rule and the separation of the Volga lands from Russia but met with no success.

In addition to abolishing the khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan the Russian state took security measures against the Crimean Khanate and the Sultan of Turkey. A line of fortifications was thrown out far to the south and reached the Lower Don; the fertile new lands south of the Oka, the so-called Wild Lands (*Dikoye polye*), could now be cultivated. Campaigns were launched against the Crimea in 1556-1559. The most important foreign political problem, dictated by the internal development of Russia, was to secure an outlet to the Baltic Sea. The continued growth of the *dvoryanstvo* made it necessary to procure more land for them. The development of commerce gradually made the problem of the advance to the world trade routes more urgent. For a number of European



Reception given to ambassadors at the time of Ivan IV. Engraving from a book by Jacob Uhlfeld

countries the 16th century was the period of the "primitive accumulation of capital." The growing European bourgeoisie was capturing world trade routes and colonies. The situation was complicated by the fact that Poland, Livonia and Sweden pursued a policy hostile to Russia and did everything to prevent Russia's economic and cultural relations with Western Europe.

The government of Ivan IV made preparations for war in the Baltic area and, relying on the support of the *dvoryanstvo* and the upper strata of the urban population, started the war in Livonia that lasted from 1558 to 1583. In the early stages of the war the Russian forces achieved considerable success. But as operations developed the difficult economic situation in the country due to the lengthy war and to the treachery and anti-state activities of the reactionary boyar aristocracy made itself felt. The international situation had also become more complicated as Poland, Sweden and other countries joined in the war. Under the Lublin Union of 1569 Poland and Lithuania became a single state, the Rzecz Pospolita, and this increased

the forces at the disposal of Russia's enemies in the Livonian war. Russia did not, on this occasion, gain a foothold on the Baltic Sea, but the attempts of the Polish army to invade Russia were defeated by the heroic defence of Pskov in 1581 and 1582. Russian diplomacy skillfully evaded the attempts of the agents of the Papal Curia to take advantage of Russia's difficult position and impose on her unfavourable treaty terms and spread Catholicism in the country.

The mid-century reforms served to strengthen the Russian state and increased the power of the *dvoryanstvo*. The might of the aristocracy, the Princes and boyars, however, had not been crushed. The bigger boyars had not become reconciled to the loss of the privileges they enjoyed at the time of feudal disunity. In order to undermine the economic basis of the boyars' political power the government of Ivan IV carried out a number of extraordinary measures between 1565 and 1584 that became known as *oprichnina*. The name comes from the Old Russian word *oprish* meaning "besides," "apart from," "extraordinary." Ivan IV divided the state into two parts, the *zemshchina* or lands, mainly on the outskirts of the country, under the rule of the boyars, and the *oprichnina* in the central part of the state where he had absolute power and stood at the head of the *oprichniki*, drawn from the *dvoryanstvo*. The *oprichnina* was an instrument directed against the boyar aristocracy (as opposed to the *dvoryanstvo* or nobility) and feudal disunity. This was a serious blow to the old boyar aristocracy. With the division of the land and the organization of the *oprichnina*, the privileged army, mass terror began that was directed not only against the boyars but also against the masses of the urban and rural population (for example, Ivan the Terrible's so-called Novgorod campaign in 1570). The peasantry suffered terribly from the *oprichnina*. A considerable part of the state became utterly ruined by the Livonian War and the *oprichnina*. The latter, furthermore, was another step towards consolidating the nobility and enslaving the peasantry.

Culture of Russian State in 16th Century

The consolidation of the Russian centralized state brought with it considerable cultural progress. Russian social thought was recorded in a number of works of importance by a publicist from the nobility Ivan Peresvetov and Ivan IV, who developed

the theory of the absolute monarchy, Andrei Kurbsky, who defended the interests of the boyar aristocracy, etc. The anti-feudal protest of the peasants and bondsmen was reflected in the writings of F. Kosoi and other "heretics." Important architectural monuments of the period are the church at Kolomenskoye and the Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed in Moscow. An important event in the cultural and political life of the country was the introduction of the printing-press into Russia (circa 1553). In 1564 the first Russian printer, Ivan Fyodorov, published his first printed book *The Apostle*. The circle of Metropolitan Makary produced a number of literary works. Historical literature of the period includes the *Kazan Chronicle*, telling of the struggle between the Russian state and the Kazan Khanate, an illuminated chronicle, and the *Stepennaya Kniga*, or *Book of Rank*; the latter is a chronology arranged according to the ranks of Ivan the Terrible's princely ancestors and was intended to support the theory of the eternal nature of the autocratic power of the Russian tsars and the significance of Russia in world affairs as the successor to Kiev Rus and Byzantium. Technical thought was developed by the work of Engineer I. Vyrodkov and the gun founder A. Chokhov.

**The Baltic, the Ukraine and Byelorussia, Moldavia,
the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and Kazakhstan in Late
15th and in 16th Centuries**

The beginning of Russia's struggle for the Baltic seaboard, the defeat of the Livonian Order and its conclusion of peace with Russia were factors that led to more extensive economic and political relations between the Baltic and the Russian state.

The Russian fortress of Ivangorod, opposite the town of Narva, was built in 1492, and a "Russian Party" was formed by the townspeople of Riga, Tartu and Tallinn favouring a rapprochement with Russia.

The process of converting the peasants into serfs continued in the Baltic area in the 16th century with the result that the struggle against the German feudal barons and the landholding church became more acute. The aggressive Livonian Order collapsed in 1561 in the course of the Livonian War after having oppressed the Baltic peoples for three centuries. But afterwards the territories around the Baltic Sea again fell under

the yoke of foreign feudal lords who shared out the lands of the former Livonian Order. Estland became the subject of Sweden, Lithuania of Poland, and the newly formed Principality of Kurland became a vassal of the latter.

In the late 15th and in the 16th centuries in the Ukraine and Byelorussia commercial and money relations were further developed, the towns grew, and the property status of both urban and rural population underwent greater differentiation. Feudal exploitation and corvée service increased. Serfs fled from the big estates to escape slavery and, in the middle of the 16th century, at first Ukrainian, and later Russian, runaway serfs formed the Zaporozhye Sech, a fortified point beyond the rapids on the Dnieper (*Zaporozhye*) that played an important part in the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Crimea, Turkey and the Polish feudals for their independence. The Cossacks of Zaporozhye (as these independent "Wardens of the Marches" were called), who developed into a special social group, also supported the anti-feudal struggle of the peasantry.

Serfdom developed into a regular system of class relations in the second quarter of the 16th century in both the Ukraine and Byelorussia and was given legal form by the *Third Lithuanian Statute* of 1588. After the conclusion of the Lublin Union in 1569 Polish feudal lords (*magnates*) laid their hands on more Ukrainian lands. The spread and intensification of serfdom led to a sharper class struggle expressed by the Cossack and peasant rebellions under Kosinsky (1591-1593), Nalivaiko and Loboda (1594-1596) and others in the Ukraine and Matyusha and Goly (1590) in Byelorussia, and a number of others. The formation of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nations took place in the 16th century. Cultural progress in the Ukraine and Byelorussia in the 16th century was promoted by the church brotherhoods who set up printing establishments and schools, spread literature, etc.; they were of great importance in counteracting the efforts to convert the population into Poles and Catholics which were greatly increased after the Union of Brest in 1596. The Union of Brest united the Catholic and Orthodox churches in the West-Russian lands and set up the Uniate Church which was under the jurisdiction of the Curia Romana. In the 16th century, also, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples strove to strengthen their bonds with the Russian state. The Ukrainians and Byelorussians assisted the

Russian forces in the wars against Lithuania at the beginning of the 16th century.

At the end of the 15th century (1474) the Turks invaded Moldavia. In the battle at Vasluia in 1475 the Turkish army was routed by the Moldavians, but in the following years the Turks made a number of raids on Moldavia, laying waste the countryside. Polish feudals took advantage of the situation in Moldavia to attack her (1497) and Lithuanian troops were prevented from going to the aid of the Poles only by the intervention of Ivan III. The Polish forces were routed in a battle in Kozminsky Forest. The Moldavian people, together with the Ukrainians, struggled against feudal oppression. The peasant rebellion under Mukha that lasted from 1490 to 1492 affected the territories of Moldavia and Galicia.

Georgia in the 16th century was split into a number of small kingdoms and principalities: Kakhetia in the east, Imeretia in the west, Kartli in the centre, Samtskhe-Saathabago in the south, and others. Feudal land tenure developed in this period and the exploitation of the peasant serfs increased. Armenia and Azerbaijan were included in the Safavid state formed at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The devastating wars between Turkey and Persia in the 16th century were fought on the territory of the Transcaucasus, causing tremendous damage to the economy and culture of the peoples of those territories. Armenia suffered more than the others and a large part of her population was either annihilated or driven out of the country. Under the treaty concluded between Turkey and Persia in 1555 Armenia and Georgia were divided between those two countries. In the struggle against the foreign rulers intercourse between the Transcaucasus and the Russian state was established. Ambassadors from Georgia were sent to Moscow at the end of the 15th century; in the middle of the 16th century Ivan IV sent a detachment of Cossacks to King Levan of Kakhetia, and in 1587 King Alexander II of Kakhetia acknowledged the overlordship of the Russian state. Refugees from Armenia settled on Russian territory, and Armenian and Azerbaijan merchants traded in Russian towns, including Moscow.

In the latter half of the 16th century Russian economic and political relations with the North Caucasian peoples (Circassians and others) were extended as those peoples sought protection against the inroads of the Turks and Persians. The territory of Kabarda came under Russian protection in 1557.

In the 15th and 16th centuries the Uzbeks began to settle on the land; this was the period of the formation of the Uzbek people. Bokhara and Samarkand were important commercial and industrial centres. At the end of the 16th century the Khan Abdullah II of Bokhara conquered extensive territories in Central Asia and united them in the Uzbek Khanate; the Tajiks and Turkmenians were among the peoples of the Khanate. The economy of the Uzbek Khanate improved, considerable irrigation work was carried out, merchant caravans traded with all parts and handicrafts were in a flourishing condition. The Sheibanid dynasty came to an end after the death of Abdullah II (1598) and the Uzbek Khanate was divided into two khanates, Bokhara and Khiva. Feudal land tenure began to predominate and taxation was particularly heavy.

After the annexation of the khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan trade between Russia and Central Asia was established and there were direct relations between the two Uzbek khanates and the Russian government.

On the territory of Kazakhstan there were several small khanates in existence in the 15th and 16th centuries and the Kazakhs were consolidated as a separate people in the 16th century.

The Peasant War and the Struggle Against Polish and Swedish Intervention in Early 17th Century

Social and economic relations within Russia in the 16th century took the form of increased feudal oppression. During the economic recession in the seventies and eighties of that century the feudal landowners tried to improve their economic position by increasing corvée service. The peasants responded to this increased exploitation by mass flights to the outskirts of the country (the Don, Lower Dnieper and the Kuban) where they evolved a special social group, the Cossacks. In an effort to strengthen the power of the landed proprietors, the government of Ivan the Terrible introduced the "years of interdiction" (*zapovedniye leta*) in the early eighties of the 16th century; according to this new law the right of serfs to gain their emancipation on St. George's Day was temporarily abolished. At the same time record books were introduced to record estates and the peasants living on them; this was done for the regu-



Peasants paying quitrent to a monastery. Late sixteenth-century miniature

lation of finances. An edict of 1597 established a period of five years in which runaway serfs could be hunted down and returned to their landlords. The record books, being official documents, made the serfs the legal property of the landowners. In the same year the bondsmen became practically serfs since, under a new law, the bond could only be broken by the death of the master. The governmental measures, adopted towards the end of the 16th century, were an important stage in giv-

ing the serf system legal standing in Russia. The famine of 1601-1603 made the already bad conditions of the masses of the people considerably worse.

All this led to greater intensification of the class struggle. At the end of the 16th century there were spontaneous insurrections of peasants and townspeople (rebellion in Uglich, 1591, peasant disturbances in the Monastery of St. Joseph in Volokolamsk, 1594). At the beginning of the 17th century there were peasant disturbances in the area known as Severskaya Ukraine, and in 1603 there was a mass movement of bondsmen and serfs under the leadership of Khlopok that affected the central regions of the country. This rebellion was suppressed by the tsar's troops but with the greatest difficulty.

In addition to class contradictions there was also friction within the feudal class. After the death of Ivan the Terrible in 1584, at the time when the throne was occupied by his ailing and weak-minded son, Fyodor Ivanovich (reg. 1584-1598), power in the land was factually in the hands of the tsar's brother-in-law, Boris Godunov; after Fyodor's death in 1598 Godunov was elected tsar by the Conclave of the Lands (reg. 1598-1605). Godunov continued the political line of Ivan's

government which aimed at strengthening the position of the *dvoryanstvo*. In 1589, the church that consecrated the tsars of Muscovy was strengthened by the institution of the Patriarchy. Representatives of the boyar aristocracy tried to regain the economic and political privileges they had lost through the *oprichnina*. The struggle of the boyars took the form of palace intrigues and conspiracies aimed chiefly at the removal of Godunov. When the younger son of Ivan IV, Tsarevich Dmitry, still a minor, died suddenly in Uglich in 1591, rumours were spread to the effect that Godunov had organized the assassination of the heir to the throne.

Towards the end of the 16th century the international situation deteriorated. Aggressive Polish and Lithuanian feudals became more active in their raids on Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands after the Lublin Union of 1569. Dissatisfied with the outcome of the Livonian War, they attempted the seizure of the West-Russian lands, particularly Smolensk, for the purpose of gradually subordinating the whole of Russia. The Polish magnates were actively supported by the Catholic church that planned to subordinate the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia to itself. At the same time the Polish Government was



Peasants. Engraving from A. Olearius' book, 17th century

trying to involve Russia in the war against Sweden and Turkey.

Godunov's government kept a close watch on the international situation that was developing and took measures to strengthen the position of the Russian state. During the reign of Fyodor Ivanovich a successful war had been pursued against Sweden (1590-1593); it ended in the Peace of Tiavsin (1595) which returned to Russia some small possessions on the Baltic seaboard. Smolensk, an important economic and strategic centre in the western part of the country, was fortified; the Moscow builder, F. Kon, built a fortress that was a masterpiece of military engineering for its time. In 1600 Moscow concluded an armistice with Poland under which the two parties agreed not to undertake operations against each other for a certain period. The Polish *szlachta*, however, continued preparations for the conquest of Russia.

The sharpening class and international contradictions and the friction within the ruling class led to an acute political crisis in the first decade of the 17th century, the period known in the historiography of bourgeois and *dvoryanstvo* writers as the Time of Troubles (*smutnoye vremya*); aggressive circles abroad took advantage of this situation. The internal situation in the Polish-Lithuanian state (Rzecz Pospolita) and the armistice concluded with Russia made open military operations a matter of some difficulty and so the catholic church and the Polish magnates organized a disguised intervention with the aid of their agent, False Dmitry I. In the autumn of 1604 False Dmitry I, at the head of Polish contingents, invaded Sever-skaya Ukraine that was at that time the scene of popular disturbances. The pretender achieved temporary successes, being supported by the masses who were in rebellion against feudal oppression and favoured a "good tsar." The boyars who commanded the government troops sent to check his advance were dissatisfied with the government policy of strengthening the *dvoryanstvo* and went over to the side of the pretender. In 1605 Godunov died suddenly. In June of that year False Dmitry I entered Moscow and occupied the throne, removing Fyodor Borisovich, Godunov's 16-year-old son. Immediately following the coronation of the pretender contingents of Polish interventionists moved towards Moscow. The invaders behaved as though they were in a conquered country; they insulted the national feelings of the Russian people and plundered the

country. False Dmitry I attempted to gain social support within the country by measures to strengthen the southern, "Ukrainian," *dvoryanstvo*, but this met with the disfavour of the boyar aristocracy. His position was also undermined by the indignation of the masses against the interventionists and their agents. During a popular uprising in Moscow Dmitry was killed on May 17, 1606. The victory of the people was utilized by the boyars to put their agent on the throne; he was Vasily Shuisky who reigned from 1606 to 1610. In order to retain their own privileges the boyars curtailed the rights and actions of the new tsar by the "oath sworn on the cross" according to which Shuisky promised not to make any decision on important state affairs without the counsel of the boyars. The arbitrariness of the boyars was much greater during Shuisky's reign than ever before. Class contradictions became even more acute and soon took on the form of the first peasant war in the history of Russia under the leadership of Ivan Bolotnikov (1606-1607).

A mass popular movement began in the southern part of the country, in Severskaya Ukraine, and spread over a considerable area. The peasants themselves were the chief motive force in the peasant war although bondsmen, Cossacks and the urban lower classes also participated. The mass movement of the Russian peasantry against feudal oppression coincided with that of the Ukrainians and with disturbances among the Volga peoples and, later, in Western Siberia. A certain section of the *dvoryanstvo* (those newly created for services rendered) tried to utilize the peasant movement for their own ends and joined Bolotnikov's rebellion in order to overthrow the Shuisky government. Their contingents under Pashkov and Lyapunov were only fellow-travellers among Bolotnikov's forces. When the class struggle had reached its greatest height and the anti-feudal nature of the rebellion was clear to all, the noblemen preferred to come to an understanding with the boyar government. Bolotnikov did not manage to capture Moscow and in December 1606 he was forced to withdraw, first to Kaluga and then to Tula. In the winter of 1606-1607 another big contingent joined Bolotnikov—Don Cossacks, peasants and artisans under the leadership of "tsarevich Pyotr" (Ileika Muromets). Shuisky's government had the greatest difficulty in suppressing the peasant rebellion and although they succeeded their position was still unstable. Throughout the greater part of the country mass revolts of an anti-feudal nature continued. The

government did not have the solid support even of the ruling class. The new nobility were hostile to Shuisky. The international situation was strained to the limit. Outside Russia another pretender appeared, False Dmitry II, who invaded Russian territory at the head of Polish troops in the summer of 1607 in the guise of the "miraculously saved" False Dmitry I. In June 1608 False Dmitry II reached Moscow and after an abortive attempt to capture the city pitched camp at Tushino, outside the city, and was immediately given the appropriate nickname of the Thief of Tushino. Many of the *dvoryanstvo*, being dissatisfied with Shuisky's government, joined the Tushino Camp; part of the Cossacks also joined them. A number of towns swore allegiance to False Dmitry II as an expression of their protest against Shuisky's politics. The second pretender, however, had little chance of success.

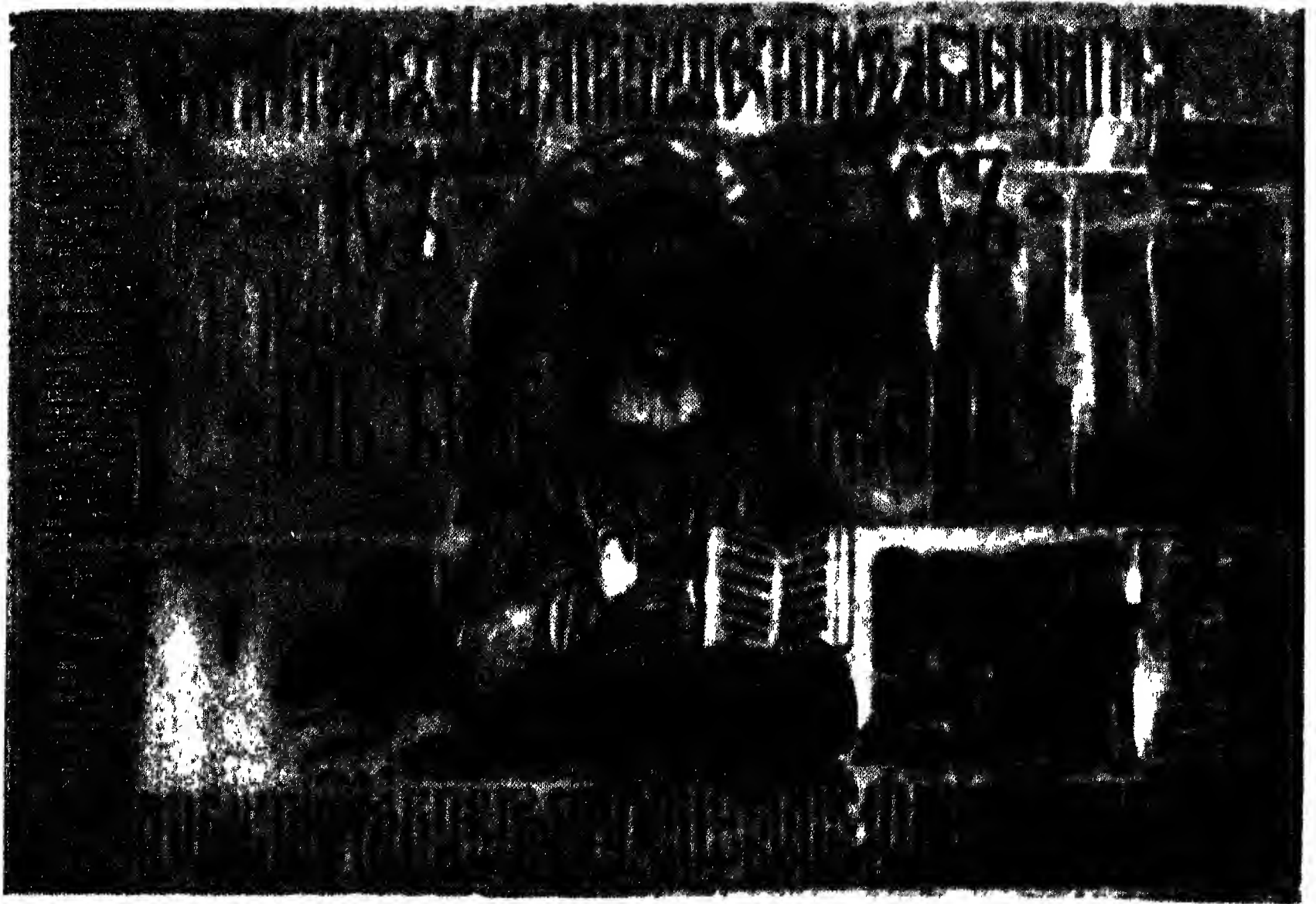
Detachments of the Polish *szlachta* were brutal in their treatment of the population and this was the cause of a new wave of the popular emancipation movement. The northern Volga basin (the Yaroslavl-Kostroma area) was the centre of a mass partisan movement that sprang up against the intervention and the Tushino Camp in 1608; urban trainbands were formed to fight against the invaders. Shuisky's government, however, was afraid to rely on the mass movement in the struggle against the intervention and preferred to appeal to the King of Sweden; Shuisky offered him the Russian town of Korela and promised a large sum of money for his help. Prince Skopin-Shuisky, the tsar's nephew, with the help of the trainbands from the northern towns and contingents from Sweden launched an active struggle against Tushino in the spring of 1609 and inflicted a severe defeat on the camp. The invitation of the Swedes served as an excuse for the seizure of the lands of Novgorod and Pskov, an act that the Swedish feudals had long been preparing, and which met with the determined resistance of the people. The appearance of Swedish troops on Russian soil was, in turn, an excuse for the Polish rulers to begin open operations against Russia as Poland and Sweden were at that time in a state of war.

Realizing that the attempt to subordinate Russia with the aid of the pretenders was a failure, the Polish aristocracy and the *szlachta* started a policy of open aggression. In September 1609, a Polish army led by King Sigismund III invaded Russia and besieged Smolensk whose population heroically beat off the

attacks of the Poles and withstood a siege of twenty months, thus keeping the Polish army engaged and preventing its march on Moscow. The Poles did not capture Smolensk until June 1611. The invaders and the Tushino army failed in their attempt to capture by siege the Troitse-Sergievsky Monastery, an important strategical point to the north of Moscow defended by the local population. With the beginning of the open intervention King Sigismund III called on the Poles to abandon the pretender and join his banner. Pursued by Skopin-Shuisky's forces, False Dmitry II fled from Tushino in December 1609 and the Tushino Camp collapsed. G20435/2029 7

As the mass emancipation movement reached its peak the boyar aristocracy entered into a conspiracy with the interventionists. In February 1610 the boyar traitors, then in the pretender's camp at Tushino, concluded an agreement with Poland to invite the Polish Prince Wladyslaw to occupy the Russian throne. In the summer of 1610 a group of the nobility, supported by the Moscow artisans, overthrew Shuisky's government, but a group of boyars headed by Prince Mstislavsky seized power; in August 1610 they concluded a fresh treaty with Poland acknowledging the Polish Prince Wladyslaw tsar of Russia; Wladyslaw undertook to preserve the privileges of the higher boyar aristocracy. In September 1610 the traitor boyars admitted Polish troops into Moscow.

A mass popular movement against the intervention began throughout the country. The appeals of Patriarch Germogen were sent out from Moscow, the heart of the Russian state, to organize a struggle against the intervention. The first people's army was organized at the beginning of 1611 and was headed by Lyapunov, Trubetskoi and the Cossack Ataman Zarutsky. In the middle of March 1611, contingents of the army approached Moscow and occupied part of the town; a popular uprising began in Moscow itself and was put down by the Poles. In the summer of 1611 the people's army collapsed on account of internal strife between the peasants, Cossacks and *dvoryanstvo*. The struggle for liberation did not cease, however. A second people's army was formed in Nizhny Novgorod in the autumn of 1611 and was headed by Minin and Pozharsky. It was an alliance of all urban classes and peasants as well as the lower and middle strata of the *dvoryanstvo*; they firmly refused to accept any foreign aid for the struggle against the Poles and in October 1612 liberated Moscow, the capital of Russia. The masses of the



The Banner of D. M. Pozharsky. State History Museum

people were the determining factor in the country's liberation from the invaders and many heroes were found among them, such, for example, as the peasant Ivan Susanin.* In addition to Russians other peoples—Chuvash, Mari and others—participated in the liberation of the country from the invaders. The anti-feudal struggle of the people quite naturally took on the character of an upsurge of patriotism. By their struggle against the foreign interventionists the people were also struggling against their own oppressors who had betrayed the country at a moment when there was danger from without. The mass anti-feudal movement that had continued after the suppression of Bolotnikov's rebellion had been turned against the interventionists who had hoped to use it in their favour.

The liberation of Moscow brought with it the re-establishment of state power. The Conclave of the Lands was in session during January and February 1613 and elected a new tsar, Mikhail

* In March 1613 Susanin was seized as a guide by a party of the Polish *szlachta* who intended to assassinate the tsar elect, Mikhail Pyodorovich. Susanin led them into a dense forest and was killed by them. This great deed was the subject of an opera by M. Glinka, *Ivan Susanin*.

Fyodorovich Romanov (reg. 1613-1645), who had the support of the *dvoryanstvo*, the townspeople and part of the Cossacks. The attempts of representatives of the boyar aristocracy to put forward the candidacies of Polish and Swedish princes were firmly rejected by the Conclave.

The struggle against intervention continued for several years, until the conclusion of the Treaty of Stolbova with Sweden (1617) and the Armistice of Deulino with Poland (1618). Smolensk and several other Russian lands remained under Polish rule. The whole Baltic seaboard was held by Sweden. The intervention had resulted in some ancient Russian lands being temporarily lost and the economy of the country seriously undermined.

The acute political conflicts of the early 17th century and the struggle for the independence of the Russian state had their effect on the development of Russian social thought and writing. The anonymous *New Tale of the Glorious Russian Kingdom and the Great State of Muscovy* that was distributed in Moscow in 1610 and 1611 was a notable literary work that reflected the patriotic mood of Russian society in those days. Many other books appeared somewhat later, notably these by Avraamy Palitsyn, I. Timofeyev, and I. Katiryov-Rostovsky, that outlined the events of the period from the viewpoint of different strata of the ruling class.

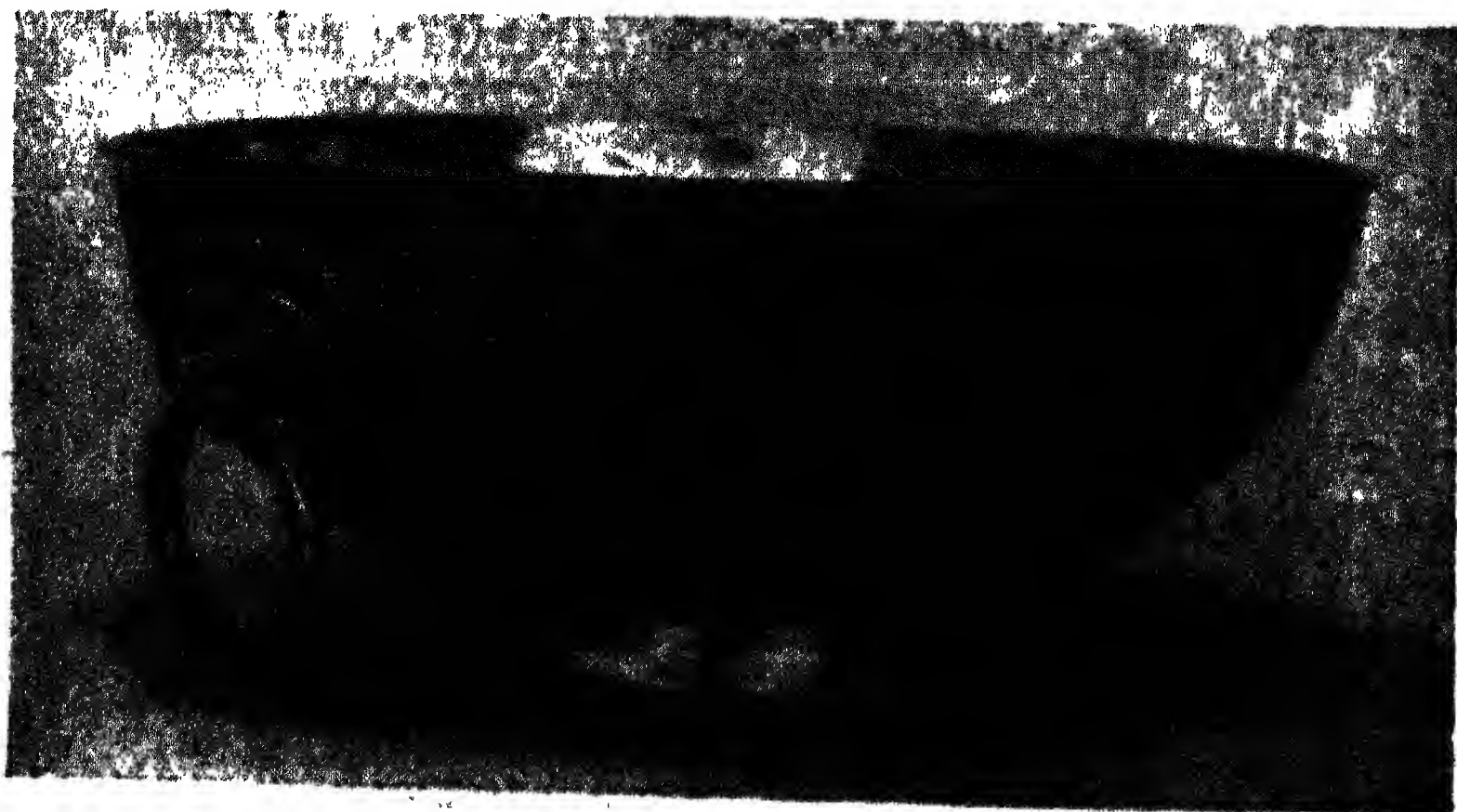
RUSSIA IN THE PERIOD OF INTENSIFIED SERFDOM, BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS (17th to FIRST HALF of 19th CENTURY)

Social, Economic and Political Development of Russia in 17th Century

The ruined economy of the country was rebuilt at the cost of intensified serf exploitation. In the 17th century farming was extended to new territories in the southern districts, the Volga basin and Siberia. Non-Russian peoples went over to settled agricultural pursuits. The tsar's government generously granted state and unsettled lands to the *dvoryanstvo*. By 1678 about nine-tenths of the peasant population of the country were the property of the *dvoryanstvo*, the church and the tsar's family. Great changes in feudal land tenure took place and by the end of the century the ancient hereditary lands of the aristocracy

and the granted estates of the *dvoryanstvo* were held on similar terms, that is, they had become hereditary. The growth of feudal land ownership was accompanied by intensified exploitation of the serfs and a bitter struggle for serfs went on between the feudal owners. In the thirties the feudal owners began to demand that the government abolish the time limit for the return of runaway serfs and give them the right to hunt them indefinitely. A number of government edicts lengthened the term to fifteen years. In the 17th century money rent became more widespread in addition to quitrent in kind and corvée service.

In this period, too, the social division of labour became more profound and there was a growth in commodity production. This was a process that was reflected in local specialization in some regions of the country—ironware in the Tula-Serpukhov district, Ustyuzhne Zhelezopolskaya and the Onega district, salt in the north and the Kama basin, flax in Pskov and Smolensk regions, etc. The circulation of money gained greater importance in trade and there was a growth of merchant and money-lenders' capital. Regional grain markets grew up in the 17th century in the Vyatka district, at Veliky Ustyug and in other places. The urban handicraftsmen became small commodity producers and at the same time production was extended and hired labour employed. An important feature of Russian economic development in the 17th century was the introduction of factories—



Gold-plated silver "cell" (domestic) bowl belonging to Metropolitan Trevely of Nizhny Novgorod, 1699. State History Museum



Iron-smelter's furnace Reconstruction by A. Artsikhovsky and N. Yanishin

ironworks at Tula and Kashira and later at Olonets, glassworks near Moscow and elsewhere, the cannon-casting works (founded in the 15th century), the mint and weaving sheds—that employed hired labour as well as the labour of serfs. Hired labour was also employed in the salt refineries and on river transport. Commercial relations with Western and Eastern countries increased considerably and included the export of raw materials and handicraft goods and the import of factory-made commodities and metals. Internal trade also increased. The centre for the all-Russian market was Moscow. The growth of commodity production and money circulation also had its effect on agriculture. Peasant farms were brought in closer contact with the market and this led to the differentiation of the peasantry. Some of the big feudal estates, like those of the boyar, B. I. Morozov, set up industrial enterprises producing potash, wine, etc.

The elements of capitalist relations in production first came into being in the 17th century. Lenin regarded this century as the beginning of the new period in Russian history which he described as the period in which separate regions, lands and principalities were actually welded into a single whole by the development of commodity circulation among the regions and the gradual concentration of small local markets in one all-Russian market, the period when bourgeois national bonds were forged. This was a period that stretched over a whole historical epoch under conditions of feudal land tenure and a strong state based

on serfdom. Capitalist relations took shape at an extremely slow pace and did not develop sufficiently for serfdom to be eliminated until the 19th century. By comparison with the advanced countries of Western Europe, feudal Russia remained a backward state. The complicated processes of social and economic development brought a further sharpening of the class struggle. The mass flights of serfs from their landlords in the southern parts of the country, the rapid growth of the Cossacks and the profound social contradictions in the towns led to countless anti-feudal revolts.

Private feudal ownership within the towns hampered the development of the *posad*, the area in which craftsmen had settled in earlier days under the walls of a castle or monastery; the small free craftsmen of "black districts," i.e., of the *posad*, who owned their own workshops and were burdened by taxes and tribute to the tsar, found a dangerous competitor in the craftsmen of the "white," feudal districts. The *posad* community began to break up into different property and social strata; a group of "big" or "better" people, those who had accumulated considerable property in their own hands, began to divide itself off from the others. But the *posad* as a whole was opposed to the "white districts" and to feudal oppression. The economic development of the towns required that all barriers and curtailments to the industrial and commercial activities of the *posad* craftsmen be abolished. By winning over the bigger merchants and creating purely feudal, privileged guilds, the merchants', cloth manufacturers', and other "hundreds," the government brought about a rapprochement between the leading merchants and the feudal aristocracy. The employment of the merchants and the upper stratum of craftsmen in government service took them away from their industries and commerce and hindered the process known as the primitive accumulation of capital.

In the 17th century the financial burden grew as both direct and indirect taxes were raised. New taxes were introduced, such as the highways' tax, the army tax and others. By the middle of the 17th century direct taxes from the population had been doubled as compared with the latter half of the 16th century. In 1679-1681 the old plough tax (*pososhnoye oblozheniye*) was replaced by a farm tax (*podvornoye oblozheniye*) which meant still greater direct taxation.

Urban Rebellions in Middle of 17th Century. Peasant War Led by Stepan Razin

The increased feudal exploitation, the heavier taxation and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle led to a number of urban rebellions in the middle of the 17th century—in Moscow in 1648 and 1662, in Novgorod and Pskov in 1650 and a number of others in towns in the central region, in the south and in Siberia. The popular uprisings in the towns showed clearly the demarcation of class forces: the upper strata of the urban population and the merchants were on the side of the feudal state and were opposed to the anti-feudal aspirations of the *posad* people. The *dvoryanstvo* took advantage of the urban disturbances to claim equal rights with the boyar aristocracy and the consolidation of their holdings and their power over the serfs.

An outstanding feature of the class struggle in seventeenth-century Russia was the peasant war in which the peasants were led by Stepan Razin (1667-1671). It began on the Don where a large number of runaway serfs had concentrated after their flight from the oppression of the landlords in the central regions of the country. Social differentiation among the Don Cossacks led to greater class contradictions and the beginning of a mass popular movement. The peasant war grew to immense proportions, affecting a large area of the Russian state. The insurrectionists took action against the boyars and the entire *dvoryanstvo*. The chief force in the war was the Russian peasantry, but the peoples of the Volga area took an active part in this anti-feudal struggle. There were also disturbances on the outskirts of the Ukraine and reverberations of them spread as far as the central districts of the country. Many selfless fighters for the emancipation of the people distinguished themselves in the course of the war. In 1670-1671, the period of the fiercest struggle, the peasant war embraced Middle and Lower Volga and the south of Russia. The government succeeded in suppressing the main areas of the rebellion only in the spring of 1671. The peasants were defeated in the war as they were in all peasant wars in the period of feudalism on account of the weakness of their organization and their royalist ideology. Despite the brutal repressions the anti-feudal revolts did not cease even after the tsar's troops had crushed the main centres of the rebellion and Razin had been executed. The biggest action was the Solovetsky

rebellion, 1668 to 1676, where the rebels withstood a siege by government troops for several years. The class protest of the masses was then veiled under a struggle for the "old faith" that first began among the churchmen in the middle of the 17th century. Patriarch Nikon and his supporters undertook the amendment of religious books and church ceremonial in accordance with Greek Orthodox tradition. Considerable opposition was put up by the priests Avvakum (Habakkuk) and Neronov and by the boyars Miloslavsky, Khovansky, Morozova and others. This social and religious movement in favour of "the old faith" is known in Russian history as the *raskol* or schism. In the consciousness of the oppressed strata of the people "the old faith" for which those who professed it had been persecuted became a symbol of struggle against growing oppression. But at the same time the ideology of the church schism, the division into "old" and "new" believers, was used in the political struggle of reactionary groups.

In this tense situation the government of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich (reg. 1645-1676) took further measures to consolidate the feudal system. In 1649 the Conclave of the Lands adopted the Ordinance of the Conclave, an outstanding political and juridical act of the government. By a system of brutal repression against those who opposed the absolute monarchy or who did not respect the property and power of the landlords the government hoped to prevent further uprisings of the people. The Ordinance consolidated the position of the *dvoryanstvo*, the main social support of the monarchy, and, equating their land holdings with those of the older aristocracy, laid down the hereditary rights of the *dvoryanstvo* to their holdings. The system of serfdom was also given juridical form. Serfdom was for life and was also hereditary, the landlord was declared the owner of the peasant's property, the time limit for which a runaway serf could be hunted was abolished and he could be captured and returned to his owner at any time. In the fifties and sixties the *dvoryanstvo* made the government responsible for hunting down runaways. The Ordinance sanctioned some of the claims of the *posad*. The feudal-owned "white districts" were abolished and re-registered "in the name of His Majesty." The autocratic state took advantage of the struggle of the *posad* people against the "white districts" and struck a blow at the remnants of feudal disunity in the towns, at the same time undermining the power of the big feudal property-owners who had heretofore owned ur-

ban property; this provided a sounder basis for the imposition of state taxes. Trading in the towns became the privilege of the *posad* people and peasants were forbidden to trade in towns.

The urban reforms did not bring any relief to the masses of the *posad* dwellers who were more and more drawn into the feudal state's sphere of exploitation; they were subject to endless rates and taxes, obligations and so on that hindered the development of the Russian town. But the state, interested in the development of trade, was forced to adopt measures to strengthen the position of the merchant class. In 1653 a Tariff Act abolished local tariff barriers and introduced a unified tariff system. The New Commercial Charter of 1667, drawn up by A. Ordyn-Nashchokin, a leading statesman of the time, envisaged the curtailment of trade by foreign merchants in Russia. The economic policy of the Russian state in the 17th century is noteworthy for its greater element of mercantilism.

The consolidation of the feudal system of serfdom is intimately bound up with the strengthening of the feudal state. Lenin described the state structure of seventeenth-century Russia as an autocracy "with a Boyar Duma and a boyar aristocracy." Local government in the 17th century was in the hands of the *voyevoda*, or military governor, a system that spread over the entire territory of the state. The arbitrary actions of the administrative and court authorities against the population served to make the yoke of feudal serfdom all the heavier to bear.

In the latter half of the 17th century the power of



Scene in a *prikaz* (Ministry).
From a seventeenth-century icon

the tsar was becoming absolute as the old, medieval governmental institutions, the Boyar Duma and the Conclave of the Lands, died out and the church began to play a lesser part in the government of the country. As the monarchy became more absolute the Conclave of the Lands was convened more and more rarely and by the eighties had ceased to meet altogether. The significance of the Boyar Duma was gradually reduced as bureaucratic elements squeezed out the old aristocratic families. Mikhail Romanov was the first of the Russian tsars to bear the official title of "autocrat." At the same time there was greater centralization of the government.

Attempts were made to reform the intricate system of *prikazi* or ministries (secretariats). The elements of a regular army came into being. In the middle of the 17th century the church reforms established a single church cult which, again, strengthened political centralization.

In the sphere of foreign policy the main line in the early 17th century was the re-establishment of the state unity of the Russian lands that had been disrupted by Polish and Swedish intervention at the beginning of the century. This was a problem that was not speedily resolved on account of the difficult economic situation existing in the country. The war against Poland (1632-1634) ended unsuccessfully for Russia. It was not until the middle of the century, when two fraternal peoples, the Russian and Ukrainian, united against the Polish *szlachta*, that some of the foreign political problems were solved.



Tsar Alexei's Palace at Kolomenskoye. Eighteenth-century drawing

In the 17th century an important place in Russian foreign policy was taken by security measures in the south against the inroads of the Turks and Tatars. Between the thirties and the seventies a number of lines of defence fortifications were erected. The Don and Ukrainian Cossacks played an important role in the struggle against the Sultan of Turkey and the Khan of Crimea; their bold raids were frequent and led them as far as Istanbul (1624). In 1637 the Don Cossacks captured Azov but in 1642 by a decision of the Conclave of the Lands it was returned to Turkey as Russia did not have sufficient forces to hold it. In 1676 Turkey launched a war against Russia in an effort to capture the Ukraine. In the war of 1676-1681, the Russian troops, fighting side by side with the Ukrainians, managed to stop Turkish aggression. This war showed the fine qualities of the Russian infantry who routed the picked troops of Turkey.

Russian Culture in 17th Century

The domination of feudal serfdom hindered the development of Russian culture in this period. Education was at a low level. Despite this, however, some cultural progress was made. Vasily Burtsev published his *Russian Primer* (1634) and Melety Smotritsky his *Slavonic Grammar*. In 1687 the Slav-Greek-Latin Academy was opened. Russian people made a number of important geographical discoveries in Siberia and several descriptions of eastern countries were written, notable among them a description of China by Spafary; several maps of Russia were compiled. There was a considerable literature in the 17th century, especially of satirical works and those dealing with domestic matters. Architecture of the period left some fine monuments, outstanding among them the New Jerusalem Cathedral, buildings in what was known as the "Naryshkin Style," etc. In painting there was a tendency to realism, seen, for example, in the work of S. Ushakov; portrait painting also made its appearance at this time. The first Russian manuscript newspaper *Kuranty* (*The Chimes*) appeared in the 17th century; the first Russian theatre or Comedy House (*Komedilnllye khorominy*) was opened in the village of Preobrazhenskoye, near Moscow (1672-1676). The Russian nation began to take form in the 17th century.

Struggle of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Peoples Against Feudal Serfdom and Polish National Oppression. Reunion of Ukraine and Russia

For many years the Ukrainian people conducted a selfless struggle to relieve the Ukraine of the oppression of the Polish *szlachta*. The Ukrainian big landed proprietors and part of the richer section of the Cossacks frequently betrayed the mass movement of the people in their own selfish interests. The war of liberation was closely bound up with the anti-feudal struggle. In the first half of the 17th century there were large-scale peasant and Cossack uprisings under the leadership of Taras Fyodorovich (1630), Pavlyuk (1637), Ostrianin (1638) and others. Among the masses of the Ukrainian people there was a growing urge to unite with the Russian people as can be seen from the frequent appeals made by the insurrectionists to the Russian government. The Ukrainian people's war of liberation began in 1648 and was led by Bogdan Khmelnitsky, an eminent statesman and soldier. The uprising spread to Byelorussia and the Polish *szlachta* suffered a series of defeats from the insurgent peasants and Cossacks.

Many heroes of the people came to the fore during the war of liberation: M. Krivonos, I. Bogun, M. Nebaba and others. In Byelorussia the insurgents were led by Garkusha, Krivoshapka, Nepalich and others. The Ukraine, however, was unable to ensure her independence of Poland with her own forces. Khmelnitsky realized that a union of the Ukraine and Russia was an historical necessity and he approached Moscow with a request to reunite the two countries; this was acceded to by the Conclave of the Lands in 1653. At the historical Council of Pereyaslavl in 1654 the decision to reunite the Ukraine and Russia was taken. The Ukrainian people were then able to develop economically and culturally. The fraternal bonds existing between the two great peoples had been strengthened in battle against external enemies and internal oppression and urgent foreign political problems that faced the Russian state were resolved.

In 1654 the war against Poland began; it resulted in the liberation of Smolensk and the return of many Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories. Sweden's intervention in the war (1656-1658) complicated the international situation.

In 1661, after an unsuccessful war, the Russian Government concluded the Kardis Peace Treaty with Sweden. In 1667 the

Andrussovo Armistice was concluded with Poland and was confirmed by the "Eternal Peace" of 1686 according to which Eastern Ukraine was recognized as Russian territory together with Kiev and the Kiev lands on the right bank of the Dnieper; Western Ukraine remained under Polish rule. The accession of a considerable part of Ukrainian territory to Russia and the peace with Poland prepared the way for another important foreign political task, that of securing an outlet to the sea, a necessity that had been dictated by the entire historical development of Russia.

The Baltic, 17th Century

The territory of the present Baltic Republics was divided between Sweden, Poland and Denmark; in the 17th century, with the development of feudalism, serfdom was given legal form. During the war between Poland and Sweden and during the Thirty Years' War* (1618-1648), Estonia, the north-eastern part of Livonia and Riga went to Sweden under the Altmark Armistice (1629), while the southern part of Livonia went to Poland. During the Russo-Polish War (1654-1667) and the Russo-Swedish War (1656-1658) Russian troops entered the territories of Lithuania, Latgalia and Estonia but were forced to withdraw. In the 17th century part of Karelia was under Swedish rule. Lithuania formed part of the Rzecz Pospolita and experienced in that period a profound economic and political recession. The internal struggle between the feudal rulers and the plundering of the land by the Polish magnates left Lithuanian economy in a sorry state.

Moldavia in 17th Century

From the beginning of the 16th century Moldavia had been under the rule of the Sultan of Turkey but had enjoyed a certain autonomy. In the 17th century the exploitation of the peas-

* The first all-European war that divided most of the European states into two camps—the Hapsburg bloc consisting of the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs and the catholic princes of Germany supported by the Papal State and Poland, and the anti-Hapsburg coalition consisting of the protestant German princes, Denmark, Sweden and France supported by Britain, Holland and Russia. The war took place at the time of the disintegration of feudalism and the rise of capitalist relations in a number of European countries when bourgeois nations were being formed, the class struggle was intensified and bourgeois revolutions were beginning.

ants was intensified, especially after 1646, when *Hospodar* Vasil Lupu published his *Ordinance* legalizing serfdom as a system of social relations; peasants were forbidden to leave their landlords. In the late 16th century and in the 17th century there were mass rebellions against the local feudal lords and against the Turkish occupants. In the middle of the 17th century the Moldavians assisted the Ukrainians in their struggle against the Polish feudal lords. Ukrainian Cossacks under the leadership of Timofei Khmelnytsky, in their turn, helped Moldavia in the struggle against the combined forces of feudal Poland, Hungary and Walachia. In 1656 the Moldavian ruler, *Hospodar* Gheorghe Stefan, requested the Russian Government to accept Moldavia into the Russian state. The Sultan, however, dethroned Stefan. At the end of the 17th century Moldavia's economic and political relations with Russia continued to develop

Transcaucasus in 17th Century

At the beginning of the 17th century the Persian feudal lords squeezed out the Azerbaijanian aristocracy and became the dominant power in the Safavid state. The Transcaucasus was the scene of a struggle between Turkey and Persia. In 1623 Giorgi Saakadze raised an extensive rebellion in Kartli against Persian rule. The insurgents gained a number of victories but were defeated by the Persians at the Battle of Marabda in 1624. In the twenties of the 17th century there were big anti-feudal rebellions in the mountainous districts of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Peace was concluded between Turkey and Persia in 1639 and Eastern Transcaucasus went to Persia while the western part remained in Turkish hands. Georgian economy remained stagnant; the Transcaucasus was cut off from the Black Sea by Turkey, the Sultan encouraged internecine strife and the exploitation of the peasants was intensified. Throughout the 17th century political relations developed between Russia and the Georgian states. In 1639 King Teimuraz I of Kakhetia and in 1651 King Alexander of Imeretia swore allegiance to Russia, hoping to receive support and protection from her.

Azerbaijan economy was seriously undermined by the Persian invasion and the farm irrigation system went into decline.

Armenia suffered terrible losses in the 16th and early 17th centuries on account of the war that was fought between Persia

and the Turkish Sultan on her territory. At the beginning of the 17th century Armenia was completely devastated by the Persian troops of Shah Abbas. In the course of a difficult struggle for liberation Armenia began to gravitate towards Russia and economic and political relations were developed. In 1667 Armenian merchants were granted a Russian monopoly to trade in silk. The unfavourable international situation did not allow the Russian state to play a direct part in events in the Caucasus area.

Central Asia and Kazakhstan in 17th Century

In this period there was an extension of agriculture and caravan trade in Central Asia and the towns continued to grow. Trade relations with Russia were maintained. Nevertheless the constant wars between the Khans of Khiva and Bokhara and the Kazakh Sultans as well as the raids of the nomads had a disastrous effect on the economy. Private landed estates in the three Central Asian khanates (Bokhara, Khiva and Kara-Kalpakia) were expanded at the expense of state lands. The feudal proprietors took as much as two-thirds of the harvest from the peasants. On the bigger estates slave labour was employed. The ruinous internecine strife and the change in caravan routes brought about a lengthy economic and cultural recession in Central Asia beginning in the 17th century.

The Kazakhs in that period lived a mainly pastoral life, although there were some cottage industries and hunting also played an important part in Kazakh economy. Barter was poorly developed. Patriarchal-feudal relations still predominated. In the 17th century Kazakhstan was the scene of frequent devastating raids by the Dzungarians. The annexation of Western Siberia by Russia brought about greater economic and political relations with the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Siberia in 17th Century

Already at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries Russian colonization of the Transural Region and Western Siberia had begun; the Stroganovs, a family of industrialists, played a big part in this as well as the peasant colonists. The armed expedition under Yermak Timofeyevich (1581-1584), a Cossack Ataman (Chief), crushed the Siberian Khanate. Fortified Russian towns were built—Tyumen, Tobolsk, Mangazeya and others. In the

17th century Russia annexed the territory of Eastern Siberia. The Russian "landfarers" S. Dezhnyov, V. Poyarkov, Y. Khabarov and others crossed the whole of Siberia and reached the Pacific Ocean, making a number of important geographical discoveries.

Relations with China were established and a number of embassies were sent to that country, notably that of Spafary (1675-1678). In 1689, the Nerchinsk Treaty was signed between Russia and China that fixed the frontier between the two countries along the rivers Argun and Gorbitsa. The inclusion of Siberia in the Russian state was of great significance to the many tribes who were still, at that time, living in primitive communities. Patriarchal-feudal relations began to form among the Siberian Tatars and the nomads of the Altai area. The Russian colonization of Siberia spread more advanced economic methods, especially in the sphere of farming. At the same time the Russians adopted some of the methods used by the Siberian peoples in hunting, fishing and other pursuits. Feudal relations also developed in seventeenth-century Siberia despite the peculiarities of that country.

The tsar's government retained intact the system of *yasak*, tribute paid in kind by the non-Russian people, that had existed before the Russians came and which provided the state with a considerable income. In the 17th century the Siberian peoples on several occasions rose in rebellion against feudal oppression and the tyranny of the tsar's officials. The biggest disturbances were in Eastern Siberia in the nineties. In addition to the struggle of the population against the colonial policy of the tsar's government there were also reactionary movements that aimed at the complete exclusion of the Russians, the destruction of the Russian settlements and the re-establishment of the authority of the local aristocracy (rebellion of the descendants of Kuchum in the sixties of the 17th century).

Economic and Political Development of Russia in Late 17th and Early 18th Centuries. Reforms of Peter I

Although there had been some progress in Russia's economic development in the course of the 17th century, by the end of that period the country's feudal backwardness as compared with the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe had been

preserved. The chief task of Russia's foreign policy was that of securing an outlet to the Baltic to ensure the further economic, political and cultural development of the country.

In the last decades of the 17th century the political situation of Russia was determined by the acute struggle for power between the various groups inside the ruling class. The Miloslavsky party came to power by taking advantage of the mutiny of the *streltsi* in 1682, and placed Tsarevna Sophia on the throne. Sophia's government regarded the continuation of the struggle against Turkey as the mainstay of their foreign policy and joined the all-European anti-Turkish coalition; the campaign against the Crimea (1687-1689) did not meet with any great success because Russia's efforts were not supported by her allies.

In 1689, Peter I (reg. 1682-1725) took full power and carried out extensive reforms in all spheres of economy and culture; he struggled persistently for an outlet to the sea. In 1695-1696 Peter undertook the Azov campaign which ended in the capture of the Turkish fortress of Azov (1696). In 1697-1698 the Grand Embassy to foreign countries with Peter himself participating was made in order to strengthen the anti-Turkish coalition and study the international situation. The government of Peter I



Sleigh used by Peter I. State History Museum



* Blast-furnaces. Water-colour. From V. de Guennin's description of Urals and Siberian factories, 1735

soon realized that circumstances did not warrant an active war against Turkey but that the international situation was favourable for Russia to launch a war for the Baltic; they began preparations for a war against Sweden. During the Northern War (1700-1721) Peter's government took energetic measures to improve the national economy, the culture of the country and to strengthen the state and its fighting forces.

In the early 18th century the productive forces in agriculture and, especially, in industry were greatly increased. The realization of reforms made necessary by earlier developments was accelerated by state activities for the organization of industrial production. A big iron and steel industry was established in the Urals and the output of iron was increased. In 1725 the Urals ironworks produced about three-quarters of all the iron smelted in Russia; output had been increased by 500 per cent in the preceding 25 years and reached an annual total of about 800,000 poods (a pood is about 36 lbs). Shipbuilding, textiles, non-ferrous metals and many other branches of the national economy were developed. St. Petersburg, founded in 1703 and later the capital of Russia, became an important industrial centre. By 1725 about 180 factories were in existence; they were not only in the central regions, but had also been built in the Urals, Ka-

relia, the Ukraine, Tataria and Siberia. The government invited the investment of merchant capital in industrial enterprises. Private enterprise was encouraged by the transfer of state-owned factories to the industrialists on favourable terms. A specific feature of Russian industrial development in that period was the use of serf labour in the factories. The feudal system of serfdom existing in Russia prevented the necessary army of hired labourers from being formed. By a special edict published on January 18, 1721, the government of Peter I granted permission to merchants who owned factories to purchase serfs. In the 18th century state-owned serfs were allotted to factories on a mass scale. The factory-owners were granted the same rights in respect of their serf labourers as the landed proprietors enjoyed (the right to indict and try them on the spot, etc.). Even hired labourers who came to the factories to work were factually bound to their master and, in 1736, were declared serf-labourers, "workers who were surrendered in perpetuity." The extensive employment of compulsory labour served for a time to develop industry but at later stages it was a serious hindrance to the development of capitalism. The factories enjoyed the support of the autocratic state, they worked to a considerable extent for the government although many of them had market connections. In their interests the government forbade peasants



Exchange and Gostinny Dvor on Vasilyevsky Island. Engraving by I. Yelyakov, 1768. From a drawing by M. Makhayev

and handicraftsmen the production of certain goods and this hampered petty peasant production.

Side by side with industrial progress measures were taken to improve communications (the building of roads and canals), to introduce more progressive methods of farming, new food and industrial crops, etc.

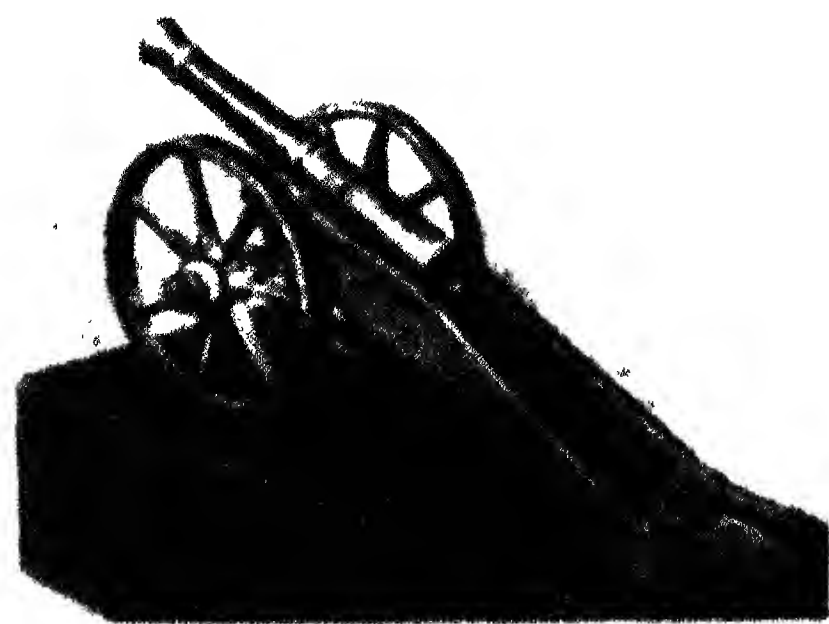
The entire burden of raising the economic level of the country was placed on the shoulders of the masses of the people. The wholesale employment of forced labour in factories and on building jobs, recruitment into the army and the sharp rise in taxation (from 1724 a poll tax was imposed that greatly increased direct taxation) all meant a serious deterioration in the condition of the working people in town and countryside.

The absolute power wielded by Peter I was used, first and foremost, to strengthen the position of the landed proprietors. The holdings of the *dvoryanstvo* grew rapidly. The edict of 1714 on heritage by one person was intended to prevent the estates from breaking up into a number of smaller ones and also made the landlords' holdings hereditary. The merchants were granted a number of privileges and concessions within those limits that were not at variance with the interests of the chief social support of the autocracy, the *dvoryanstvo*. The role of the latter also increased as the dominant group in the state administration.

It was inevitable that the intensified oppression of the serfs should lead to a fresh intensification of the class struggle. The Astrakhan rebellion (1705-1706), the Don rebellion led by K. Bulavin (1707-1708) and many other disturbances were manifestations of the struggles of the masses of the people against feudal oppression and included peoples of non-Russian nationality.

In order to strengthen the power of the ruling class, develop economy and culture and at the same time resolve a number of urgent foreign political problems, Peter I inaugurated considerable reforms in the state machinery; these reforms were an important stage in the formation of absolutism in Russia. The old system of government through the *prikazi* that acted individually and whose functions were not clearly demarcated was not up to the tasks that now confronted the feudal state. The old Boyar Duma proved quite incapable of giving leadership in questions of home and foreign policy. In 1711 Peter instituted the Government Senate in place of the Duma, the members of which were appointed by the tsar. The Senate was invested

with very extensive authority. In place of the antiquated *prikazi*, in 1718, nine (later twelve) collegiums were set up and given full executive power to administer the various branches of industry, finances, foreign affairs, etc. With the organization of the Senate and the collegiums the decisive role in the administration fell to the civil servants (*chinovniki*, or men of rank) drawn from the



Field gun, 1723. State History Museum

dvoryanstvo, who served the state in accordance with the Table of Ranks introduced by Peter I in 1722. Civil servants were promoted to leading positions in the state for their personal services and not because of their aristocratic descent; the boyar aristocracy was pushed completely into the background. The church was placed entirely at the service of the feudal state: Peter I abolished the patriarchate and established the Holy Synod (1721) to govern the church, under the supervision of a civil servant, the Higher Procurator of the Synod. The formation of the absolute state was accompanied by the introduction of a state control system headed by a procurator. The institute of fiscals was founded; its function was to supervise the execution of laws and it was headed by a Chief Fiscal subordinated directly to the tsar. The civil service was separated from the armed services. Great changes were made in the system of local government; gubernias were introduced in place of the older uyezds (1708) and each gubernia was headed by a Governor who enjoyed full civil and military authority. In 1719 the gubernias were divided into provinces. The establishment of such a complicated bureaucracy was one of the typical manifestations of absolutism and was intended to ensure the suppression of the resistance of the exploited masses. Another important moment in the formation of Russian absolutism was Peter's adoption of the title of Emperor in 1721 and also the foundation of a well-trained regular army made up by compulsory recruitment of peasants and *posad* people (the officers, with rare exceptions, were drawn from the *dvoryanstvo*). Peter did his country a great service in founding the Russian Navy.

Russian Foreign Policy in Early 18th Century. The Northern War, 1700-1721

The development of Russian industry, the foundation of a regular army and navy, provided the essential means for the solution of the most important foreign political problem—the acquisition of an outlet to the Baltic Sea. The Northern War of 1700-1721 against Sweden and the countries that supported her, despite the failures at the beginning (Battle of Narva in 1700), gave Russia the Baltic seacoast; Russia completely defeated her enemies. The brilliant victories of the Russian army at Lesnaya (1708), Poltava (1709) and others, the successes of the Russian Navy in the battles at Hanko (1714) and Grönhamn (1720) showed the superiority of Russian strategy, the excellent training of the army and navy and the heroism and staunchness of the Russian soldiers and sailors. In land and sea battles the talents of Peter I and his generals, A. Menshikov, B. Sheremetev and others, as military and naval strategists, played a great role. Victory in the Northern War wrecked the plans of British and Dutch diplomacy that was trying by any means to prolong the war, organize anti-Russian coalitions and prevent the Russians from gaining a foothold on the Baltic seaboard.

The Treaty of Nystad was concluded with Sweden in 1721.

The Northern War was of great importance in the history of the peoples of Russia. In 1708-1709 Swedish troops invaded the territory of Byelorussia and the Ukraine; the Ukrainian and Byelorussian people rose in struggle against the oppressors. The attempt of the traitor, Hetman Mazeppa, to separate the Ukraine from Russia was not supported by the masses of the people and, therefore, collapsed. During the Northern War considerable territories in the Baltic region and Karelia were joined to Russia; their peoples (Letts, Estonians and Karelians) became linked up with the Russian people by eternal ties. The merging of these peoples with Russia, tsarist oppression notwithstanding, had a positive significance as it helped develop their economy and culture. Simultaneously with the war for the Baltic seaboard Russia also fought against Turkey (1711-1713) but the war was unsuccessful for Russia and ended in the loss of Azov. It had the effect, however, of strengthening Russia's position in the south and her bonds with Moldavia. The Persian campaign of 1722-1723 ended by Russia annexing the western

and southern coast of the Caspian Sea, which strengthened the economic and political relations of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasus with Russia. The consolidation of these relations and the Russian orientation in those areas found expression in the policy of Vakhtang VI, King of Kartli.

The invasion of Armenian territory by the Turks and the capture of Erevan in 1724 and its occupation by Turkey for a certain period was a hindrance to the movement that was developing at the beginning of the 18th century in favour of an alliance with Russia. According to the Treaty of Constantinople in 1724 concluded between Russia and Turkey a considerable part of Azerbaijan went to Russia, but in the period between 1732 and 1735, on the eve of the war with Turkey, the Russian Government concluded an agreement with Persia and returned the Caspian littoral of Azerbaijan to her. The Turkish invaders were driven out of the Transcaucasus but Azerbaijan remained under Persian rule. At the beginning of the 18th century military expeditions were sent to Central Asia. Frederick Engels wrote that the main directions of Russian foreign policy were delineated under Peter I. In the solution of these intricate problems of



**Triumphal Gate erected in honour of victory at Poltava.
Engraving by A. Zubov, 1711**

foreign policy a group of outstanding diplomats came to the fore, among them F. A. Golovin, B. I. Kurakin, G. I. Golovkin, P. P. Shafirov and P. A. Tolstoi, headed by Peter I himself.

Russian Culture in Early 18th Century

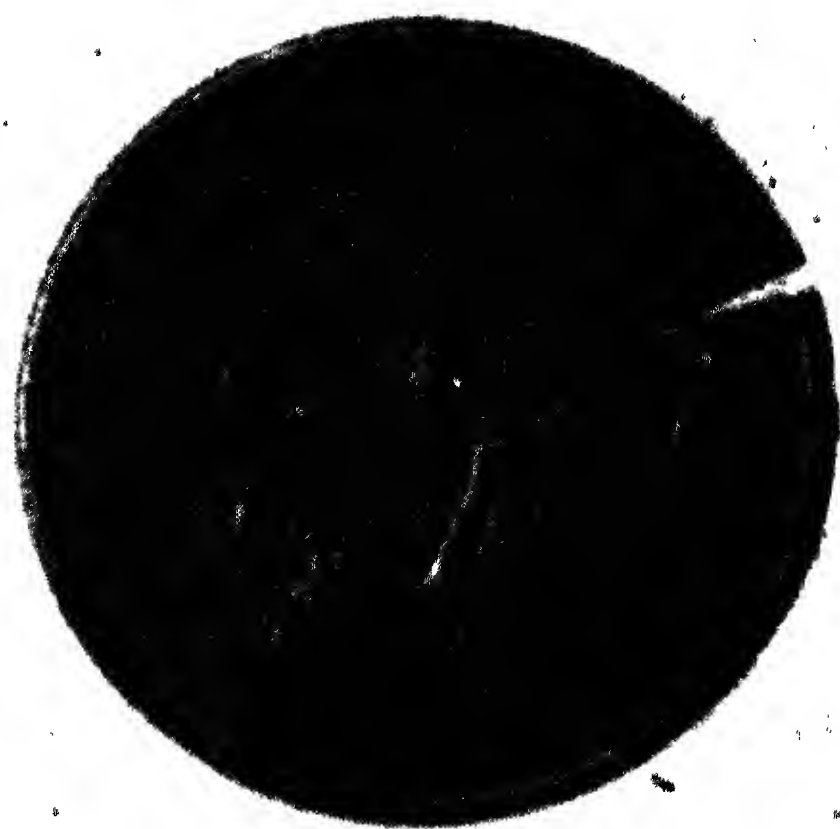
The growth of the national economy, the extensive building, the founding of a regular army and navy, the exploitation of new lands and their resources, the complication and extension of the functions of the state administration brought about a tremendous increase in the demand for trained, educated people and promoted the spread of education in Russia. The invitation of foreign specialists by Peter I (especially at the beginning of his reign) and the dispatch of Russians abroad to be educated were dictated by necessity but Peter's entire policy in the spheres of education, science and culture was directed towards training national contingents. As Russians were trained for various branches of economy and state administration they replaced the foreigners. Special schools were opened at the beginning of the 18th century (Cannoneers' School in 1699, the Artillery and Navigation schools in 1701, and others), the Marine Academy was opened (1715), and libraries, theatres and museums made their appearance. A new calendar was introduced in 1700. The publishing of books greatly increased and a new "civil" alphabet was introduced in place of the Old Slavonic script. Social and political thought (as exemplified in the treatises of Feofan Prokopovich, the works of Pososhkov, Saltykov and others) provided a basis for and developed the idea of consolidating the absolute state in the interests of the *dvoryanstvo* and merchant classes. Russian scholarship recorded important works in the sphere of geography; new territories were discovered in Eastern Siberia and the coasts of the Arctic Ocean and Kamchatka were explored (expedition under Yevreinov and Luzhin, 1719-1722), etc. In 1714 a public library and museum (known as the *Kunst-kammer*) were opened in St. Petersburg; the Academy of Sciences was opened in 1725 (it was founded a year earlier). The activities of Peter I himself played an important part in these great changes in the sphere of science and culture; he did everything to encourage the development of science and the spread of education in Russia. In this period, as in the centuries that followed, Russian culture developed in close contact with advanced West-European culture. Peter's reforms in the cultural field were

of a class character and were carried out primarily in the interests of the ruling class.

Peter I is one of the most outstanding figures in history. His was an original mind and he possessed a broad outlook as a statesman, and great courage. He correctly understood the necessity for reforms and made great efforts to put them into effect; he did not hesitate, at times, to adopt the most drastic measures.

He was a diplomat and a soldier of eminence. All the decisive victories in the Northern War were gained with the personal participation of Peter I (Lesnaya, Poltava, Hanko).

The reforms of the early 18th century were progressive in character. They constituted an original attempt to overcome backwardness and at the same time retain the feudal system. Peter's reforms gave an impetus to economic, political and cultural development in Russia and facilitated her consolidation and emergence as a world power. They were intended mainly to strengthen absolutism in Russia. The whole burden of the reforms lay on the shoulders of the masses.



Medallion engraved in palmwood by Peter I depicting the capture of Nottbom. State History Museum

The Empire of the Nobility, 18th Century, Second Quarter

The development of commodity production and money relations in the middle of the 18th century drew the landlords' estates into market relations and increased the interest of the *dvoryanstvo* in the production of commodities for the market; this was expressed officially by the issue of numerous instructions that provided detailed regulations for the obligations of the serfs and payments to be made by them to their owners. Factory production grew at this time and the Urals iron industry, in particular, made big strides forward. In the mid-century, Russia attained first place in the

world for the smelting of iron (2 million poods in 1750) and exported it to other countries. With the growth of the production forces in agriculture and industry the internal market improved and the number of fairs increased; there was greater foreign trade through St. Petersburg, Arkhangelsk and Riga with Western Europe, China and the Central Asian khanates. The internal economic development of the country and the progress made in foreign trade led to the abolition of internal tariffs in 1753 and later, in the sixties, to the abolition of the state monopoly in certain products (potash, resin, etc.). These and other measures helped build up an all-Russian market. Increased feudal exploitation in the second quarter of the century led to the sharpening of the peasant movement in the thirties, forties and fifties, especially on the monastery estates; flights to the outskirts of the country and to Poland increased in number. In the fifties there were big disturbances among the factory workers (in the sailcloth mills in Kaluga Gubernia in 1752 and others). In the same period there were revolts of non-Russian peoples (for example, the Bashkir rebellions in 1747 and 1755).



Worker at an iron mine. Drawn from an illustration in *Prospectus of the Yekaterinburg Works, 1729.*
State History Museum

The struggle for power between different groups of the *dvoryanstvo* is an outstanding feature of Russian political life in the second quarter of the 18th century.

Peter I died in 1725 without having named his successor. His widow was crowned Empress Catherine I (reg. 1725-1727) and was succeeded by Peter's grandson, the son of Tsarevich Alexei, who became Peter II (reg. 1727-1730). In 1726, under Catherine I, the Supreme Privy Council was set up; it included such statesmen as Menshikov and Osterman. After the sudden death of Peter II the Privy Councillors invited the niece of Peter I, the Duchess of Kurland, Anna Ivanovna, to accept the crown (reg. 1730-1740). The attempts of the Privy Council to limit her power in favour of the aristocracy failed owing to the determined intervention of the *dvoryanstvo*.

In the second quarter of the 18th century the *dvoryanstvo* continued the struggle to extend their privileges and free themselves from obligatory civil or military service. In 1731 the Corps of the Nobility was instituted for the *dvoryanstvo*. In 1736 the period of obligatory service for the nobility was reduced to 25 years and a number of edicts confirmed the exclusive right of the nobility to own land.

In the thirties a number of Kurland Germans appeared at the court of Anna Ivanovna who did not fully trust the Russian nobility. Foreign adventurers who openly despised Russia, her people and her culture, such as Biron (or Bühren), Münich and others, seized important posts in the state apparatus and amassed tremendous fortunes to the ruin of the country. This called forth a protest from the Russian *dvoryanstvo* who had been deprived of power. Before her death Anna Ivanovna bequeathed the throne to her nephew Ivan Antonovich (reg. 1740-1741). In 1741 he was deposed and Elizabeth, daughter of Peter I, was proclaimed Empress (1741-1761). In her reign the Russian nobility replaced the foreigners in the state apparatus and at court.

From 1735 to 1739 Russia fought a war with Turkey for an outlet to the Black Sea, regained the Azov area and pushed the southern frontiers forward. There was a further war with Sweden from 1741 to 1743 resulting from an abortive attempt on the part of that country to regain a foothold in the Baltic territories.

In 1756 Russia joined in the Seven Years' War on the side of France, Austria and other countries against Prussia and Britain, a war that was caused by the clash of its aggressive par-

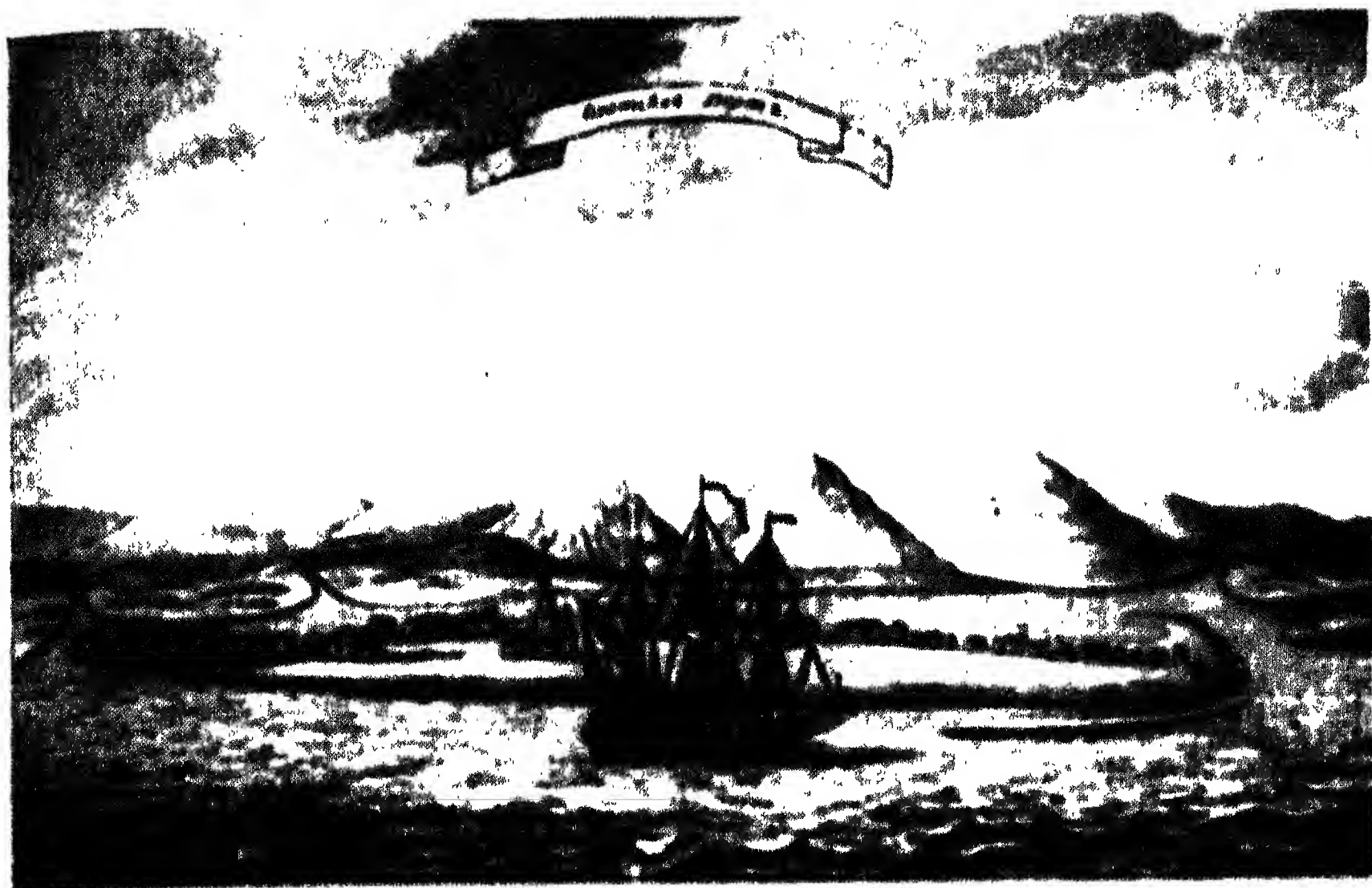
ticipants in their struggle for colonies. The growing strength of Prussia and the efforts made by Frederick II to extend his possessions in the east were a cause of alarm to Russia. At the same time Russia was endeavouring to push her frontiers westward towards Poland in order to recover the lost Byelorussian and Ukrainian lands, annex Kurland and strengthen her position on the Baltic. Russia hoped to compensate Poland by acceding to her the Baltic lands held by Prussia. In the course of the war the Prussian army, that under Frederick II had been regarded as invincible, was completely routed. The Russian armies gained a number of brilliant victories and in 1760 occupied Berlin. The death of Elizabeth Petrovna (1761) and the accession to the throne of Peter III, a wholehearted champion of Prussia, led to the immediate conclusion of peace with Prussia and the return of all her former territories (1762). Peter III concluded a military alliance with Prussia and even intended helping her with armed forces in the war against Denmark. The palace revolution of June 28, 1762, deposed Peter III, and Catherine II came to power (reg. 1762-1796); the alliance with Prussia was dissolved.

The Russian nobility's blind worship of everything foreign, the dominance of serfdom and the arbitrary rule of foreign adventurers had made the development of Russian science and culture a matter of great difficulty. Moscow University, the first in Russia, founded on the initiative of Mikhail Lomonosov (1755), became the centre at which advanced Russian science and culture developed.

The expeditions under Bering, Chirikov and Krasheninnikov, equipped by the Academy of Sciences, made a number of important discoveries in the North and in Kamchatka. Russian literature and art made considerable progress. Russian prosody was reformed; the process was begun by Trediakovsky and brought to perfection by Lomonosov. The first Russian professional theatre was opened by Volkov in 1756. The Academy of Arts was founded in 1757.

Russian Economic Development in Second Half of 18th Century

In the second half of the 18th century new farm lands were opened up in the south and south-east of Russia; the black-earth belt became the chief grain-growing district; the area planted to wheat was extended and potatoes were introduced.



The port of Okhotsk Engraving in *Description of the Land of Kamchatka*, S. Krashennnikov, published 1755

At this time the inconsistencies between the growing productive forces and the production relations of the system of serfdom were beginning to make themselves felt.

The period under review was one in which capitalist elements began to play a more important part in the country's economy. Factory production was on the increase. By the end of the 18th century there were over 2,000 industrial enterprises in the country, about a half of them of the big manufactory type. The total number of workers employed was something like 200,000. The cotton, wool and leather goods industries developed rapidly as did the branches processing agricultural raw materials, especially the distilling of spirits. Iron and steel (mainly in the Urals) output increased to such an extent that by 1800 Russia's iron output was 9,900,000 poods. At the same time industries grew up in the Altai area and in Siberia. It is typical of the growth of industry in this period that capitalist forms of organization became more widespread, especially the employment of hired labour in the cotton and other industries. Metallurgy and the felt cloth manufactories, however, were run mostly on serf labour. The employment of hired labour was particularly important in the industrial centre of the non-black-earth belt (Moscow,

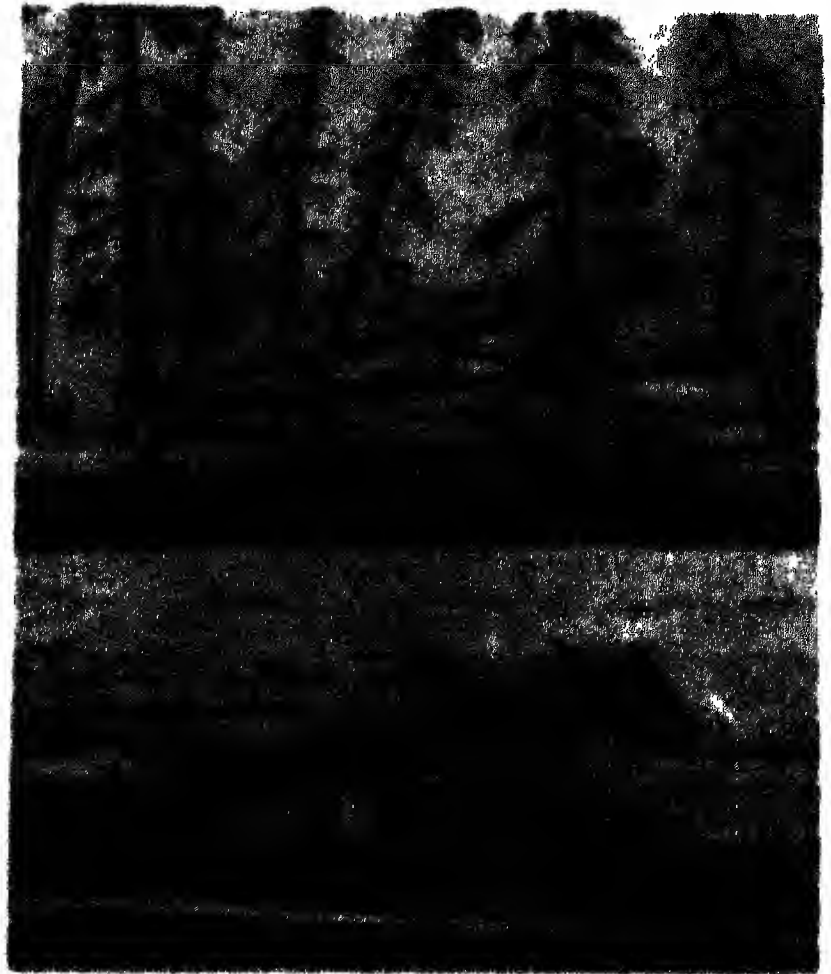
Vladimir, Yaroslavl and Kostroma gubernias), where a labour market was created by the mass transfer of peasants to the payment of quitrent in money instead of in kind. The manufactories of the merchant class, organized on the basis of hired labour, began to account for a larger share in production. An important item in the country's economic development was the appearance of peasant factories that led to the formation of capitalist elements in the rural areas. Between the fifties and seventies of the 18th century the development of peasant petty industries and peasant trade was furthered by the removal of certain barriers; this was to the interests of the Treasury and also of the nobility who wanted higher quitrents from their peasant serfs. By the end of the 18th century big industrialists had made their appearance on some landed estates where they enslaved the village poor and exploited them in their factories. The differentiation in property and social status became much greater both in the towns and the countryside.

With the growth of the productive forces the social division of labour became more profound, the economic specialization of certain districts was more pronounced, there was an increase in both home and foreign trade and the all-Russian market continued to develop. The central black-earth belt and the Ukraine specialized in farm produce, Pskov, Novgorod and Smolensk gubernias provided flax. The other regions in the centre of the country provided the market with the produce of the factories and small manufactories. At Solikamsk, Iletsk and around Lake Elton salt was refined; the Urals provided cast and malleable iron, copper and other metals. The biggest commercial centres were Moscow, and the Makaryev (near Nizhny Novgorod), Sven (near Bryansk) and other fairs whose number had increased to more than 1,600 by the seventies. Foreign trade underwent a considerable increase, especially through St. Petersburg. There was also increased trade with Siberia and China (through Kyakhta and Irbit) and with Central Asia (through Orenburg). Towards the end of the 18th century there was greater trade with the Black Sea countries and the export of grain increased. The chief items of export were farm produce and linen goods as well as a few others. Russia's imports included fabrics and tea from the East, woolen and cotton fabrics and luxury articles from the West. The non-Russian peoples of Russia were drawn into the system of the all-Russian market. The towns continued to grow although the urban population was

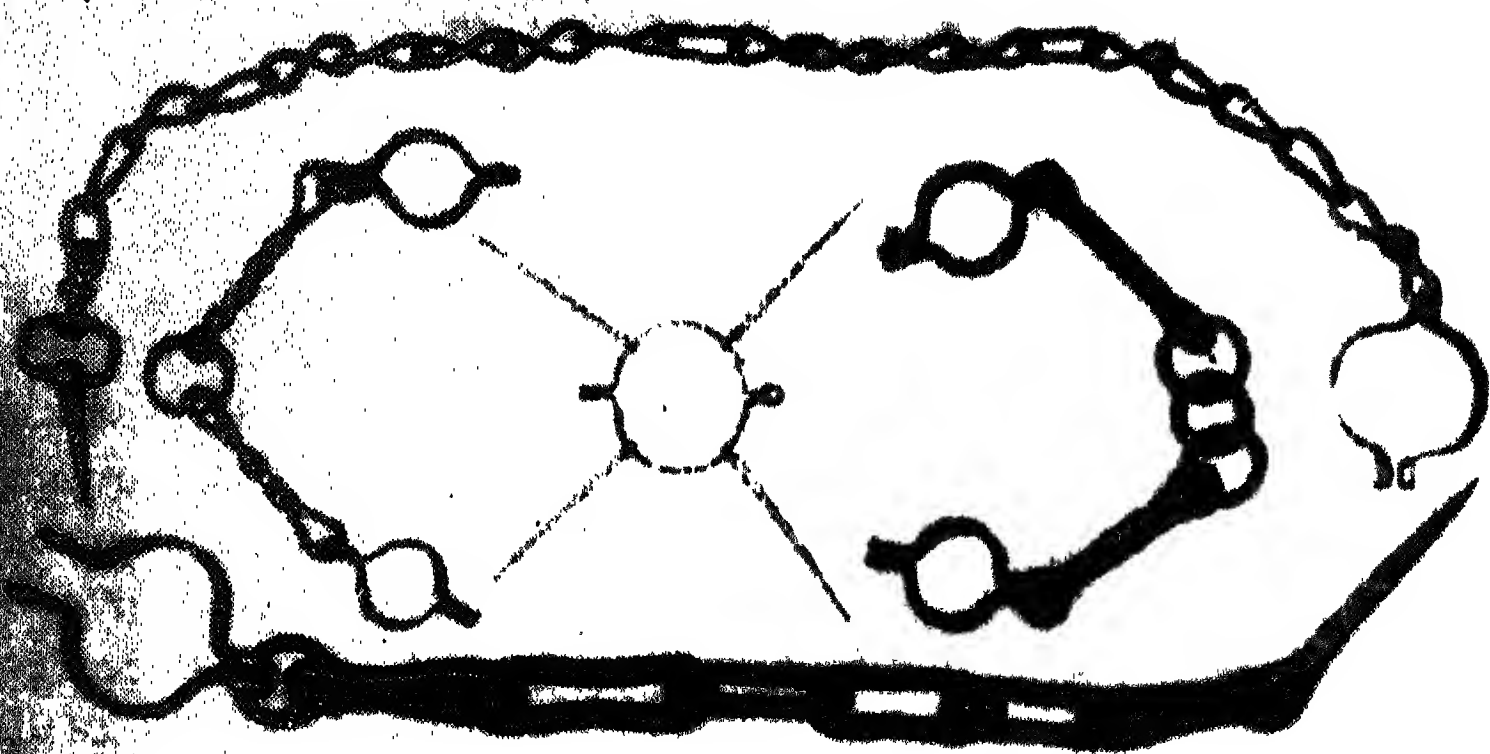
still only 4.1 per cent of the total by the end of the century. The first banks appeared in Russia in connection with the development of money and commodity relations. The Loan Bank of the Nobility was founded in 1754 and was followed immediately afterwards by the Merchants' Bank.

Commodity production and money relations penetrated deeper and deeper into Russian economy and under their influence, the nobility tried to adapt their serf economies to the new conditions. In addition to farming new lands (mainly in Novorossia) the nobility tried various methods of intensifying economy based on the exploitation of the serfs. The output of farm produce for the market was developed more widely. The Free Economic Society, founded in 1765, made a special study of the problem of increasing the incomes of landed estates. New industrial crops were introduced and attempts were made to employ more progressive farming methods, but none of these measures proved effective as long as serfdom was retained. The chief means of raising the productivity of the landed estates was still the old one—increased exploitation of serf labour by transferring more peasants to corvée service and increasing quitrent. This ruined the small peasant farms and forced more peasants to leave the land in order to work in factories and earn money to pay quitrent. The nobility also tried to engage in trade and industry, and estate factories were founded employing the forced labour of serfs.

In the 18th century the exploration of Siberia continued and mining enterprises were opened at Nerchinsk and in the Altai. Russian expeditions explored the shores of the Pacific and Arctic oceans in search of fur-bearing animals. Trade with America began in the seventies, and in the eighties the first Russian settlements in Alaska appeared. In 1799 the Russian-American Company was



Trap for fur-bearing animals and the fence of a fish trap, Siberia. Engraving from P. Pallas' *Travels*, 1770. Edition of 1809



Shackles, spiked collar and chains used for the punishment of serf workers in the Urals factories at the beginning of the 18th century.
State History Museum

unded to develop and consolidate Russian possessions in North America.

At a time when capitalist elements in the country's economy were rapidly developing, the feudal system of serfdom served to hamper progress. The autocratic government was forced to take the growth of commodity production and money relations into consideration and to adopt a number of measures to promote industry and commerce, but at the same time strove to retain and strengthen serfdom.

Internal Policy of Tsarism Between 1760 and 1790 and the Class Struggle. Peasant War Under Y. Pugachyov

The latter half of the 18th century brought increased exploitation of the serfs. In an effort to strengthen the economic position of the nobility the tsarist government granted extensive state and palace lands and serfs to the nobility. At the same time exploitation of state-owned serfs was intensified; they had numerous obligations to fulfil and were forced to pay quitrent to the state in cash, the amount being constantly increased throughout this period. The serfs allotted to the factories were in an even worse position.

The development of commodity production and money relations and the greater part played by the landlords' estates and the peasant farms in market relations all served to increase the exploitation of privately-owned serfs; corvée service was increased and quitrent raised. In the sixties the usual quitrent had been from one to two rubles a year from every male member of the serf's household, but by the end of the 18th century it had increased to five rubles. At the same time, however, the prices of grain and other food products rose so that real quitrent was actually lower. The purchase and sale of serfs became a common practice. The serfs, who constituted over a half of the country's population, were not only deprived of all human rights but were subjected to cruel repression and to the brutal will of the landlord; evidence of this is to be seen in the notorious case of Saltykova, a woman who was accused of having had about a hundred people flogged to death. Working people in industrial



Flogging a peasant with canes in the presence of the landowner.
Engraving by H. Heisler. Late 18th century



Country estate Zabava (Amusement) near Moscow. Late 18th century. Water-colour by V. Prichetnikov.
State History Museum

enterprises were also cruelly exploited. The working day was between thirteen and fifteen hours. The brutality of feudal oppression intensified the class struggle and in the early sixties over 200,000 peasants were involved in disturbances. The secularization of church property was undertaken in 1764 to put a stop to peasant disturbances on the lands belonging to the monasteries and also to increase the amount of land at the disposal of the state; over 2,000,000 serfs of both sexes that had formerly been the property of the monasteries and other church feudal owners were converted into state-owned serfs (known as "economy peasants"—*ekonomicheskiye krestyane*). In the sixties the government accelerated the demarcation of estates that had begun in 1754; this was intended to strengthen feudal land tenure and reduce the number of cases of litigation over land.

In this period, also, the sale of serfs without the land was more widely practised; they were also sold as recruits to the army. In 1760 the landlords were granted the right to send serfs to permanent exile in Siberia without a court trial. An edict of

1765 gave landlords the right to send their serfs to penal servitude in Siberia, and by the edict of 1767 this punishment could be inflicted on any peasant complaining against his master.

Catherine II consolidated the domination of the *dvoryanstvo* by partial reforms of governmental institutions and changes in the laws. Her liberal phraseology and her efforts to pose as an "enlightened monarch" were intended to hide the nature of serfdom in a country run by the nobility and for the nobility and to serve as a basis for the thesis that in a country ruled by an "enlightened monarch" progress could be achieved without a revolution such as was then maturing in France and whose ideas had begun to trickle into Russia. However, the Commission composed of representatives of the various "estates" that was set up in 1767 to compile a new legal code revealed the sharp contradictions that existed between the nobility, the merchants and the peasantry. The nobility demanded a monopoly right to the ownership of land and serfs and the extension of their privileges to the sphere of commerce and industry, the merchants wanted monopoly rights in trade and industry and the retention of their right to exploit cheap serf labour, while the few representatives of state-owned serfs spoke of the extremely bad conditions of the peasant masses. The statement made by G. Korobyin in favour of lightening the burdens of the peasantry, regulating their obligations and curtailing the power of the landlord over the person of the peasant was roundly condemned by the nobility. The Commission was dissolved when the Russo-Turkish War began in 1768 without having drawn up a new code.

The further intensification of class contradictions led to the biggest peasant rebellion in the history of Russia, the uprising headed by Pugachyov (1773-1775). The peasant war broke out on the River Yaik (now the Ural) and affected the whole Volga basin. Extensive sections of the peasantry, the Cossacks and the Urals workers joined the anti-feudal movement; non-Russian peoples living along the Volga and the Urals sided with the Russian peasants in the struggle against tsarism and serfdom. One of the leading organizers of the anti-feudal movement was the Bashkir, Salavat Yulayev. Despite the royalist nature of the uprising, typical of all peasant rebellions (Pugachyov called himself Tsar Peter III), and other weaknesses the Pugachyov rebellion came as a severe shock to the nobility, the dominant class in the Russian state. The insurgent peasants demanded the abolition of serfdom, compulsory recruitment and the pay-

ment of tribute. The monarchy had the greatest difficulty in suppressing the rebellion. Catherine's government tried to prevent any repetition of the uprising by brutal repressions. The Gubernia Reform of 1775 extended local government in which the nobility had begun to play the leading role; district and gubernia assemblies of the nobility, each headed by a Marshal, were set up. The Cossack fortress (*Sech*) on the Dnieper was abolished (1775) and measures were taken to limit the autonomy of the Cossack troops. The Charter granted to the nobility in 1785 defined their personal rights and completed the conversion of the nobility into a closed privileged caste. The Charter granted to the towns in the same year made some concessions to the growing merchant class while, at the same time, preserving the dominant position of the nobility.

Russian Foreign Policy from 1760 to 1790

The latter half of the 18th century provided Russia with a number of urgent foreign political problems. The solution of the Black Sea problem had become essential by the sixties; this was dictated by the economic interests of the nobility,



A Russian squadron destroys the Turkish fleet in Cheshme Bay, 1770. Engraving by Cano and Watts from Paton's painting. Late 18th century

their thirst for more fertile lands in the south where the proximity of the Black Sea facilitated the export of grain. The merchants were naturally interested in development of trade with the countries of the Near East and Southern Europe through the Black Sea. At the same time Russia had to get a guarantee of the security of her southern frontiers from the devastating raids of the Crimean Tatars. Britain and France hindered Russia's solution of the Black Sea problem as they did not want Russia to consolidate her position either on the Black Sea or in the Balkans. Russia's war against Turkey had a progressive effect on the development of the struggle of the Slav peoples of the Balkans for liberation and, despite the predatory nature of tsarist efforts, served to strengthen the bonds between the Russians and the other Slav peoples. Another foreign political problem was that of reuniting the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories that were still under Polish rule.

During the latter half of the 18th century these foreign political problems were successfully solved. The conclusion of a defensive alliance with Prussia (1764) and a commercial treaty with Britain (1766) by Catherine's government strengthened Russia's position in Europe. The two Russo-Turkish wars of 1768-1774 and 1787-1791 were marked by the brilliant victories of Russian troops under Generals Rumyantsev and Suvorov. At the end of the 18th century the Russian fleet commanded by the famous Admiral Ushakov gained a number of important victories over the Turks. Russian military art reached a very high level in the course of these wars. Russia consolidated her position in the Crimea (1783), the Kuban region and on the Black Sea. The beginnings of the Black Sea Fleet were laid down and lands rich in natural resources in the south of Russia (Novorossia) were developed. The Treaty of Jassy in 1791 gave Russia part of Moldavia. In 1772 Russia, Austria and Prussia effected the first partition of Poland by which Russia obtained part of Eastern Byelorussia and Lithuania. The Russo-Swedish War of 1788-1790 resulted from Sweden's effort to re-establish herself in the Baltic and hamper Russia's struggle against Turkey in the south.

The international importance of Russia grew considerably in the latter half of the 18th century. An important role was played by Russia's declaration of "armed neutrality" in 1780 that helped the American people in their fight for independence against Britain.

The Transcaucasus, Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the Latter Half of 18th Century

Russia's relations with the Transcaucasus were strengthened to a considerable extent in this period. The struggle against Turkish and Persian aggression inclined Transcaucasian statesmen to look more and more to Russia which resulted in increased economic, political and cultural relations. The two Georgian kingdoms of Kakhetia and Kartli were united in 1762 and Georgia participated in the first Russo-Turkish War on the side of Russia. With the union of Kabarda and Russia by the Kuchuk-Kainarji Treaty of 1774, ties with Georgia were strengthened still further. In 1783, King Irakli II (Heraclius) of Georgia signed an agreement with Russia under which Eastern Georgia was placed under Russian protection although the actual unification of Russia and Georgia did not take place until 1801. The liberation movement in Armenia grew much stronger and also looked to Russia for protection. I. Emin was an important leader of this movement.

In the 18th century a considerable part of Kazakhstan was added to Russia. Under conditions of a hard struggle against the Dzungarian nomads the Younger Zhuz (or Juz, consisting of the pastoral tribes along the rivers Ilek, Irgiz and Yaik [Ural]) accepted Russian rule in 1731, and the Middle Zhuz (with their pastures along the lower reaches of the Syr Darya and the rivers Irtysh, Ishim and Tobol) in 1740.

In the latter half of the century Russian relations with Central Asia were strengthened. In the Bokhara and Khiva khanates there were numerous and lengthy struggles between the feudals. Towards the end of the century the Kokand Khanate was formed in the Ferghana Valley. In a period of slight economic prosperity in Central Asia at the end of the century Russian trade improved.

Russia at the End of 18th Century.

The government of Catherine II, with its reactionary domestic policy, was hostile to the French Revolution and made preparations for armed intervention in France. The power of the police and the censor was increased. In alliance with the reactionary governments of Austria and Prussia, Catherine's government participated in the suppression of the Polish liberation movement and in the second and third partitions of Poland (1793

and 1795) after which Poland ceased to exist as a state. The partitions of Poland, a manifestation of the hostile policy of tsarism in respect of the Polish people, led to the annexation by Russia of the Western Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania and the Baltic provinces.

Catherine's policy was continued by Emperor Paul I who succeeded to the throne in 1796. Land grants to the nobility were greater than in Catherine's time, the oppression of the serfs increased and the class struggle sharpened (disturbances in 32 gubernias). Paul I continued the struggle against revolutionary France, joining the anti-French coalition. During the war with France the Italian and Swiss campaigns under Generalissimo Suvorov (1799) became famous for the heroism of the Russian troops. Later, when relations with Britain were strained, Paul I entered into an alliance with Napoleon and broke off relations with England; this was not to the liking of the nobility who wanted to trade with England. The court aristocracy, therefore, decided to get rid of Paul. He was assassinated as a result of a conspiracy (1801) and his son Alexander I came to the throne.

Russian Culture in Second Half of 18th Century

The maturing crisis of the serf system with its sharpening class struggle brought about greater social ferment. Progressive social and political thought became sharper in its criticism of serfdom. An important role in this sphere was played by the eminent Russian educationalist N. I. Novikov. Russian revolutionary ideology had its inception at the end of this century; Radishchev, the first of the Russian revolutionary nobility, published his books; his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* (1790) was an exposure of serfdom and the autocracy in Russia.

The government of Catherine II was brutal in its repressions of progressive social thought; Radishchev was at first sentenced to death but the sentence was later commuted to banishment to Siberia (1790), and Novikov was imprisoned in Schlüsselburg Fortress (1792).

Despite the difficult conditions imposed by the system of serfdom Russian science and engineering continued to make progress. New expeditions were equipped to study the geography of the country (I.I. Lepyokhin, P.S. Pallas and others), important technical inventions were made by I. I. Polzunov (steam engine), I. P. Kulibin (a number of inventions and researches in

mechanics, etc.). The centre of progressive materialist science was Moscow University where Lomonosov's pupils and followers were working—N. N. Popovsky, S. Y. Desnitsky, D. S. Anichkov, I. A. Tretyakov and others.

There was a new stimulus given to Russian literature at the end of the 18th century by the work of Fonvizin, Derzhavin and Karamzin. There was a development of Russian journalism. A number of magazines and journals were launched and several newspapers, important among them *Moscow Record* (*Moskovskiye vedomosti*) started in 1756 at Moscow University.

The Russian theatre was developed, mainly by serf actors. Outstanding architects of the period were M. F. Kazakov and V. I. Bazhenov. The sculptors F. I. Shubin, F. F. Shchedrin and M. I. Kozlovsky and the painters F. S. Rokotov, D. G. Levitsky, V. L. Borovikovsky and S. F. Shchedrin raised Russian art to a new high level.

Economic Development of Russia in Early 19th Century

In this period the economy of feudal serfdom was already in a state of disintegration. The opening up of new lands to farming on the southern and eastern borders of the country increased the cultivated area of 45 gubernias of European Russia from 38 million dessiatines in 1802 to 58 million in 1861 (an increase of 53.8 million acres). The annual grain harvest increased from 155 million Russian quarters in 1806 to 216 million in 1861 (an increase of about 40 million imperial bushels) although when allowance is made for the increase in population during the 60 years, the amount per head did not increase. Grain cultivation still remained the chief branch of agriculture but new branches were introduced (sugar-beet cultivation, breeding of longwool sheep), the share of industrial crops (flax and hemp) increased and the area of the tobacco plantations and vineyards was extended. The potato, formerly a garden crop, became a field crop. In 1802 the first Russian beet sugar refinery was built and by 1844 there were already 206 refineries. The sugar-beet plantations in the Ukraine alone amounted to 25,000 dessiatines by the forties of the 19th century.

As market relations improved the nobility tried to make their estates more profitable and produce more marketable commodities. Some of them attempted to introduce a crop rotation system using many fields, used farm machinery and employed

hired labourers. Merchants, townspeople and state serfs who acquired land were not allowed to own serfs although the free sale and purchase of land had been permitted from 1801 and many of these groups were now landowners. Hired labour was, therefore, employed on their farms—this was a development of a new, bourgeois type of land tenure that extended the use of hired labour. The feudal land tenure of the *dvoryanstvo*, however, predominated, and the majority of feudal landowners retained the serf system although its low productivity was becoming more and more obvious. The landowners extended the area they farmed for themselves by reducing the lands of the peasants, they increased corvée service and the amount of quitrent payable, substituting money rent for payment in kind and services. This increased serf exploitation brought ruin to the peasantry, lowered the productivity of serf labour with a consequent reduction of the incomes produced by the estates, that is, the economic basis of feudalism was being undermined. The development of trade and market relations accelerated the social differentiation of the peasants. The richer peasants rented extra land, flour mills and inns from the landowner, and opened taverns and shops, plundering and embroiling in debts their weaker fellow-villagers. Some of the richer kulak peasants bought their freedom from the landowners and joined the ranks of the merchant class. At the same time the number of horseless and even landless peasants in the villages increased; these, the village poor, were forced to sell their labour to others.

During the first half of the 19th century the number of industrial enterprises in Russia increased, many of them capitalist undertakings employing wage labour. Petty peasant cottage industries—the first stage of capitalist industry—became much more numerous.) Part of the population of the non-black-earth regions abandoned farming altogether and important industrial centres grew up at Pavlovo, Kimry, Ivanovo, Shuya and other places. The greater part of the cottage industries was ruined and their owners became dependent on the merchants buying up their produce. Those of the peasants and cottage industrialists who became more wealthy together with merchants and money-lenders organized factories (manufactories) that employed wage labour.

The regular use of machinery in industry began round about the thirties. This was the beginning of an industrial revolution, a new stage in the development of capitalism that was ac-

accompanied by social and economic as well as technical progress. The transition from hand to machine labour was effected more rapidly in those branches of industry where hired labour predominated. The cotton industry is an example, wage labour having accounted for 95.7 per cent of all workers as early as 1820; by 1861 cotton spinning was fully mechanized as was calico printing in the majority of factories. Mining and ferrous metallurgy, where 70 per cent of all workers were serfs up to 1861, employed very little machinery. The majority of the wageworkers, however, were peasant serfs whose owners had released them from the land to work elsewhere and pay quit-rent in cash.

In the course of half a century the number of workers and industrial enterprises (excluding mines, distilleries, breweries and flour mills) increased almost six times over (the figures are taken from Lyashchenko's *History of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.*, Vol. 1):

	1804	1860
Number of enterprises	2,402	15,388
Number of workers employed	95,200	565,100

Of these the number of wage labourers increased almost tenfold—from 45,000 to 430,000. The most rapid growth was in the cotton industry which had 199 enterprises with 8,181 workers in 1804 and 1,200 enterprises with 152,236 workers in 1860.

The greater share taken by wage labour in the sum total of labour employed (according to Lyashchenko's data it was 87 per cent in the manufacturing industries in 1860) meant that the estate enterprises and those owned by the nobility in the towns and which employed serf labour exclusively were being squeezed out by those employing wage labour. The estate enterprises, in 1860, employed only 11 per cent of the total number of workers employed in the manufacturing industries.

As the social division of labour increased there was an influx of workers into the towns from the countryside. In 1812 the urban population of Russia was 4.4 per cent of the total but by 1851 it had increased to 7.8 per cent. The southern towns grew most rapidly. Odessa, for example, had a population of about 10,000 at the beginning of the century and over 100,000 by 1860. At the same time there was greater economic



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20 лѣтъ женою, а жена его
хорошая прачка, цѣна и о-
бѣе швецъ хорошо, цѣна о-
ному 400 руб., и все оные люди
хорошего поведения и презво-
го совѣтуютъ. Видѣть ихъ мо-
жно на Остоженкѣ, под №309.

Продаются 3 дѣвушки, цѣна
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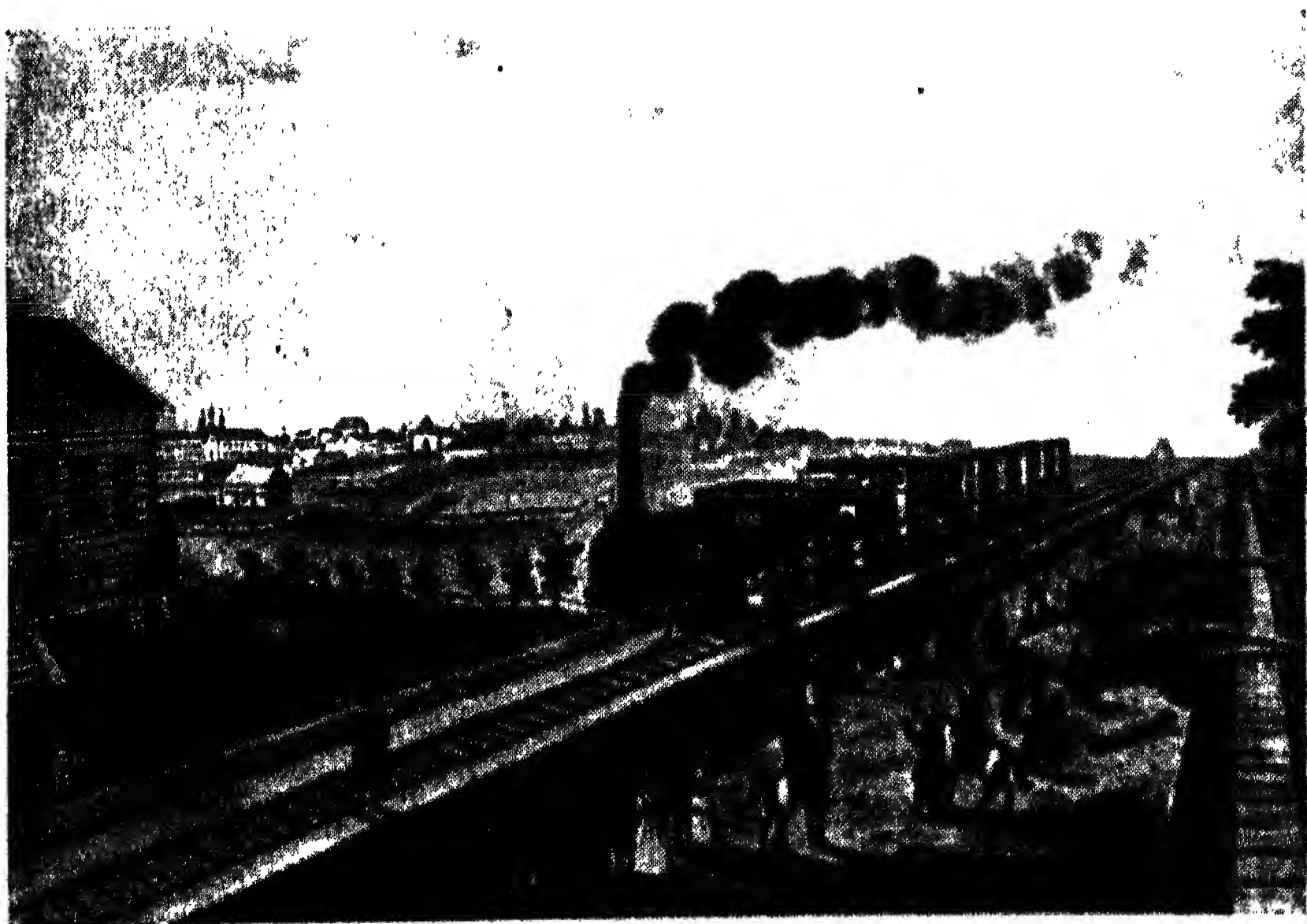
Продаются шесть стрѣлъ мо-
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только въ Арбатѣ, въ переко-

The newspaper *Moscow Record* (*Moskovskiy Vedomosti*) No. 53,
July 4, 1800

TRANSLATION: Surplus household servants for sale: shoemaker, age 22, and his wife, a
laundress—price 500 rubles; a wood-carver aged 20 and his wife, a good laundress who
can also sew well—price 400 rubles; all of them people of good behaviour and sober tem-
perament. To be seen at Ostozhenka 309

For sale: 3 pretty girls, 14 and 15 years old, know fancy work, can knit handbags with
monograms and one of them plays on the quill. Can be seen and price ascertained at
Arbat No. 1, Apartment 1117

For sale: six young grey horses, lightweights, trained to harness, final price 1,200 rubles.
Can be seen at Malaya Nikitskaya Street, in the parish of Staroye-Vosneseniye at the house
of Prince Boris Mikhailovich Cherkassky



Tsarskoye Selo Railway. Lithograph. 1837

specialization of certain regions (the central industrial, central black-earth, South-Eastern livestock-breeding, North-Western flax and other regions), and the circulation of commodities increased. By the middle of the sixties there were about 6,500 fairs in Russia, 33 of them with a turnover of a million rubles (among them Nizhny Novgorod, Irbit, Korennaya [nr. Kursk], Kharkov, Ilyinskaya [Poltava], Kontraktovaya [Kiev]).

The merchant class or social estate was continually growing: in 1836 there were 123,796 merchants, and in 1851 there were 180,359, whose total capital amounted to 500 million rubles. The extension of internal trade led to some improvements in transport: in 1815 the first steamer in Russia was launched on the Neva, and by 1861 on the Volga alone there were about 200 steamers. The railway from St. Petersburg to Moscow (644 km.) was opened in 1851. Ten years later there were 1,626 km. of railway in Russia. Nevertheless transport remained an impediment to economic development. The increased demand for Russian grain (especially in the forties) and raw materials in the industrial countries of Western Europe made for the development of foreign trade, the growth of the seaports and increased farming and cattle-breeding for the

market in the regions bordering on the seacoast. There was an increase of almost 350 per cent in foreign trade in the course of 60 years—from 127 million rubles in 1801 to 431 million rubles in 1860.

(The system of serfdom hampered the development of the production forces of the country, perpetuated backward farming methods with their low productivity. It hindered the growth of the home market, including the labour market, restricted the accumulation of capital and hampered the development of more progressive, capitalist methods of production. The abolition of serfdom had become an absolute necessity in Russia.)

The Home and Foreign Policy of Tsarism up to 1812

In the 19th century the stultifying influence of tsarism in the historical development of Russia was becoming particularly clear. Despite the fact that serfdom was in a state of disintegration tsarism strove to preserve it and to strengthen the dominant position of the *dvoryanstvo*. At the same time tsarism adapted itself to the new social and economic situation and to a certain extent encouraged the development of industry and commerce: customs duties were introduced, industrial exhibitions were permitted, technical schools were opened, etc.

Peasant disturbances increased in the 19th century—they became more frequent and were on a larger scale, often leading to armed clashes with the police and military. Between 1802 and 1804 there were clashes in the St. Petersburg and Novgorod gubernias, between 1802 and 1805 in the Baltic region and in 1807 in Byelorussia. The revolt of the Lettish peasants at Volmar in 1802 and of the Estonian peasants near Pernau in 1803 disturbed the government to such an extent that in 1804 they attempted to make certain concessions by forbidding the sale of serfs without land and by declaring them the lifelong holders of their farms. Between 1816 and 1819 the peasants of the Baltic gubernias were released from personal dependence on the landowners, which to a certain degree helped the development of capitalist relations in that part of Russia. All the land, however, remained in the possession of the landlords. The Lettish and Estonian peasants, forced to rent land from their landlords, the Baltic barons, were no better off.

A new feature of Russian life was the growing unrest among the workers whose exploitation was most brutal under the serf

conditions obtaining in the factories. The working day was as long as 15 or 16 hours and in some cases reached 18 hours. The very low wages were reduced still more by fines and other deductions. The worst conditions were experienced by the serf workers in the estate enterprises and in factories belonging to landowners in the towns. At the beginning of the 19th century there were serious disturbances among the Urals workers and serfs (at Revda in 1800 and 1802, at Nizhny Tagil in 1803, at Ufalet from 1803 to 1805, etc.). In 1809 action was taken by the workers of the St. Petersburg foundry. In the main these actions were all directed against the exploitation of serfs in industry, but they differed from the peasant revolts because they reflected the growing antagonism between capital and labour.

The sharpening of class contradictions compelled the government of the tsar to adopt a more flexible policy, one that was capable of preventing revolutionary upheavals. In addition to repressions they occasionally made small concessions, hiding their reactionary policy under a cloak of demonstrative liberalism. This was typical, in particular, for the first years of the reign of Alexander I (reg. 1801-1825). The Secret Committee (*Neglasni komitet*) that he set up worked out some partial administrative reforms and also discussed the peasant question. The activities of the Committee, however, were limited to the establishment of ministries in place of the out-of-date collegiums and the formation of a Committee of Ministers. In 1803 the tsar issued a decree on free cultivators which permitted landlords to manumit their serfs with land on payment of ransom should they so desire. The practical significance of the decree was not very great. Another failure was that of the plan for state reforms worked out by Speransky in 1809 on the instructions of the tsar, Speransky being at the time the actual maker of home policy. The plan did not affect the foundations of the existing system but provided for the creation of representative institutions (state and local dumas), the deputies to be chosen by an electorate limited by property qualifications. The reactionary *dvoryanstvo* subjected Speransky's plan to the bitterest criticism as they saw in it an encroachment on the autocracy and on their own privileges. In March 1812 Speransky was removed from his post and exiled. Among the court dignitaries surrounding Alexander I, the most outstanding was the reactionary owner of serfs, Count Arakcheyev, who had been appointed Minister of War as early as 1808.

Alexander I rejected the alliance with France that had been planned towards the end of his father's reign and concluded a Convention of Friendship with England. In 1805 Russia joined the new anti-French coalition set up on the initiative of English diplomacy. Russian troops were sent to help Austria and then Prussia. In the campaign of 1805-1807 the allies suffered defeats at Austerlitz (1805) and at Friedland (1807). Austria and Prussia capitulated. Left without allies on the continent and without any substantial help from England, Alexander I was compelled to conclude the Peace of Tilsit with Napoleon in 1807. The hardest of the terms of the Treaty, as far as Russia was concerned, was the alliance with France and participation in the continental blockade that Napoleon had announced in 1806 for the conduct of economic war against England. This meant great loss to Russian economy since England was the biggest supplier of manufactured commodities and the biggest purchaser of Russian raw materials and grain. The landowners began to express their discontent with the cessation of trade with England and with Russia's being involved in Napoleon's politics. In the hope of compensating himself for the failure at Tilsit, Alexander I, supported by Napoleon, in 1808 launched a war against Sweden which at that time sided with England. The Russo-Swedish War, conducted under the severe climatic conditions of the northern Baltic area, lasted a long time and demanded great effort. The Russian forces crossed the ice of the Gulf of Bothnia and determined the outcome of the war. Peace was concluded in 1809. Under the treaty, Finland entered the Russian Empire with the rights of a Grand Duchy, retaining her own constitution. Once the tsar's government had seized Finland they pursued a policy of national oppression, frequently contravening the Finnish constitution.

The Union of Georgia, Northern Azerbaijan and Bessarabia with Russia

The interests of those Russian landowners who received new lands in the Black Sea steppes and North Caucasus at the end of the 18th century required the security of the southern frontiers of the Empire and a guarantee of trade in the Caspian and Black seas. On account of this the Caucasus and Balkan problems occupied a prominent place in Russian foreign policy in the early 19th century. At that time there was a danger of the

East-Caucasian area being conquered by Persia and coming within the sphere of English colonial expansion. Russian politics in the Transcaucasus became more active. In 1799 Russian troops had been quartered in Tbilisi at the request of Giorgi XII, King of Georgia, and in 1801 East Georgia entered into a union with Russia. Later Mingrelia (Megrelia, 1803), Imeretia (1804) and Guria (1811) became subjects of the Russian Empire.

In response to the union of Georgia with Russia, the Shah of Persia, with the support of English diplomacy, launched a war of revenge against Russia. The Russo-Persian War of 1804-1813 ended in the defeat of the Persian army. Under the Peace of Gulistan in 1813, Northern Azerbaijan and Daghestan were joined to Russia.

In 1806, under pressure of Napoleonic diplomacy, the Sultan of Turkey started a war to alienate the Crimea and Georgia from Russia. During this war Russian troops occupied Moldavia and Walachia and also gave military assistance to the Serbs who, in 1804, raised a rebellion against the Turkish yoke. The war ended with the encirclement and rout (under the leadership of Field Marshal Kutuzov) of the main Turkish forces at Rushchuk in 1811. Bessarabia and Western Georgia went to Russia under the Treaty of Bucharest concluded in 1812. Turkey undertook to observe the autonomy of the Danube principalities and grant Serbia internal self-government.

Despite the fact that the upper strata of the local feudal landowners retained their privileges and despite the crudely arbitrary rule of the Russian military bureaucracy, union with Russia was objectively progressive for the peoples of the Transcaucasus. The union freed them from the danger of enslavement by backward Persia and Turkey and from the ruinous internecine feudal wars that meant extermination. Georgia and Azerbaijan were given a way out of their economic stagnation and were able gradually to get rid of their feudal disunity and follow Russia's road to capitalist development. Intercourse with the Russian people facilitated the cultural progress of the Transcaucasian peoples, brought revolutionary ideas to them and increased the anti-feudal movement in those countries. The union of Bessarabia with Russia provided opportunities for the development of her backward economy. In the thirty years that followed the union, Bessarabia was built up, the population of the country was trebled and the grain harvest was quadrupled.

The Patriotic War of 1812

In his effort to conquer the world, Napoleon I invaded Russia on June 12 (24), 1812, after having subdued the majority of the European countries. The tsarist government did not provide a sure defence for the western frontiers. The Russian troops were organized in three armies stationed at a considerable distance from each other. Their strength was little more than a third of that of the enemy (about 230,000 against more than 600,000) and they were forced to retire into the interior of the country. From the beginning of the war the partisan movement developed on a large scale and popular levies were formed. The popular nature of the war gave the Russian army high moral and staunch fighting qualities.

Napoleon's strategy consisted in ending the war in the shortest possible time by routing the Russian army in one grand battle. The First Russian Army (Barclay de Tolly) began its withdrawal in good time and the Second Army (Bagration) by a skilful manoeuvre succeeded in avoiding attack and completely disrupted Napoleon's plans. On July 22 the two armies joined forces at Smolensk. The Russian armies succeeded in containing the enemy and inflicting heavy losses by their rearguard actions. Great courage and fortitude were displayed by Neverovsky's division in the battle at the town of Krasny and by Rayevsky's Corps and Dokhturov's Corps in the defence of Smolensk. The grave situation created by the French army's approach on Moscow forced Alexander I to accede to the army's demand and appoint the great Russian general, Kutuzov, commander-in-chief. At the Battle of Borodino, fought on August 26, the Russian armies under Kutuzov inflicted such heavy losses on the enemy that they could not be replaced and thus broke his offensive drive. But the Russian army also suffered heavy losses, had neither the strength nor the reserves to defend Moscow and abandoned the city. On September 2 the French occupied Moscow. Kutuzov gained time by a flanking march, drew up his reserves and carried out the tremendous work of reorganizing his forces, training and arming them, and effected a radical change in the ratio of forces: the Russian army was now numerically superior to the enemy. By the beginning of October Kutuzov's main forces numbered over 120,000, whereas Napoleon's army had dwindled to 100,000; the Russian cavalry was three and a half times the strength of the French and the artillery

was almost double. Napoleon left Moscow between the 6th and 11th of October. The Russian army drove the enemy westward and as a result of the battles fought at Tarutino (October 6) and Maloyaroslavets (October 12) went over to the counter-offensive and began the parallel pursuit of the enemy; together with the partisans and the popular levies the Russian army completely routed the French. After the losses inflicted on it during the battle at the crossing of the River Berezina (November 14-16) Napoleon's army had actually ceased to exist. Russia's victory created the conditions necessary for the liberation of other European countries from the rule of Napoleon. The Russian army, together with other armies of the anti-Napoleonic coalition, advanced as far as Paris.

**Home and Foreign Policy of Tsarism, 1815-1825.
Growth of Mass Anti-Serfdom Movement**

The Vienna Congress (1814-1815) rearranged the map of Europe and re-established the old feudal order and dynasties in France, Germany, Italy and other countries. By a decision of the Congress part of Poland, known as the Kingdom of Poland, was integrated in the Russian Empire. Fear of revolutionary



Punishment by "running the gauntlet" (from the Album of the Tenginka Regiment)

and national-liberation movements forced the monarchs of Austria, Prussia and Russia to conclude the reactionary Holy Alliance on September 26, 1815. Other European monarchies also joined the alliance. Alexander I, one of the leaders of the Holy Alliance, subordinated Russian foreign policy to the task of consolidating European reaction. Tsarist Russia began to play the role of the "gendarme of Europe." This was in complete accordance with the interests of the Russian landowners who feared fresh revolutionary upheavals. The Patriotic War had awakened the masses of the people. The peasants expected to receive their long-awaited "freedom" after the war. The deep-going process of disintegration within the feudal system, however, led to even greater oppression. Tsarism, in fear of the growing indignation of the people, adopted a policy of open reaction and terror. The regime established in the country became known as *Arakcheyevshchina* after the chief organizer of the terror, Count Arakcheyev. One of the most brutal manifestations of *Arakcheyevshchina* was the establishment of military colonies, founded for the purpose of providing ready-made army reserves, reducing military expenditure and creating a force to fight against the popular movements. State-owned serfs were settled in the colonies where they combined farm work with army training and were subjected to the discipline of barrack life; the slightest misdemeanours were heavily punished. The peasantry protested against the introduction of this system, and in 1817 and 1818 there were serious disturbances in Novgorod Gubernia and the Ukraine on these grounds. In 1819 a big revolt occurred at one of the colonies in the vicinity of Chuguyev. A mass movement of protest against the conversion of newly settled peasants into serfs in the Azov area and in the lands beyond the Don affected over 250 villages in the 1818-1820 period. In 1822, Alexander I issued a decree that intensified the repressions by reaffirming the old right of landowners to send their serfs to Siberia without a regular court trial. Continual drilling and brutal discipline in the army were the cause of unrest among the soldiers, the biggest action being taken by the soldiers of the Semyonovsky Regiment in St. Petersburg in 1820. Progressive officers also protested against the *Arakcheyevshchina* and many of them were cashiered for their opinions.

In the ideological field reaction manifested itself in the subordination of the school to the church, in the persecution of progressive professors, stricter censorship and the propaganda of

religious fanaticism and mysticism. No repressions, however, could check the mass liberation movement and prevent the development of revolutionary ideas in Russia.

The Decembrist Revolt

The Patriotic War of 1812 and the intensification of the mass anti-serfdom movement in the post-war years had a great influence on the best of the intellectuals drawn from the nobility; these were people who had been brought up on the ideas of the French bourgeois revolution and on the works of Radishchev, the first Russian revolutionary, and of foreign educationalists. From condemnation of the system of serfdom the more progressive people went over to the idea of the necessity of overthrowing the autocracy, the necessity for the revolutionary transformation of Russia. The impressions received during campaigns abroad in 1813 and 1814 and the revolutionary events in the West in 1820 and 1821 all served to strengthen these ideas. Revolutionary-minded officers formed their first secret society in 1816—the League of Salvation (*Soyuz spaseniya*)—out of which another society grew up in 1818, the League of Prosperity (*Soyuz blagodenstviya*). In 1821 two new societies were formed, the Northern (in St. Petersburg) and the Southern (in the Ukraine), and still another in 1823—the Society of United Slavs (*Obshchestvo soyedinyonnykh slavyan*), also in the Ukraine. Although they differed on a number of other questions in one thing the *dvoryanstvo* revolutionaries were unanimous—it was essential to overthrow the autocracy and abolish serfdom. The members of the Southern Society, led by Pestel, were republicans. In the Northern Society supporters of a constitutional monarchy predominated (led by N. Muravyov) although there was an important group of republicans led by K. Ryleyev, who became the leader of this group in 1823. The Decembrists had a number of different solutions to the peasant problem. Pestel's plan provided for the liberation of the peasants with the provision of land that would, in part, be confiscated from the big holdings of the landlords. Muravyov's plan was to liberate the peasants without any land or with a small holding of two dessiatines to every family. The class limitation of revolutionaries drawn from the ranks of the nobility was due to their isolation from the people. They prepared a revolution in the name of the people but without the participation of the people. The majority



The Chita Prison. Copy from a drawing made by the Decembrist I. Annenkov of them were army officers and they hoped to effect a revolution with the help of the units they commanded.

The unexpected death of Alexander I and the confusion caused in government circles by Constantine, the tsar's brother and heir, renouncing the throne, induced the revolutionaries to take hasty action. Members of the Northern Society in St. Petersburg raised a revolt on December 14, 1825, when the new tsar, Nicholas I, was to take the oath. More than three thousand soldiers came out on to Senate Square in response to the appeal of the revolutionary officers. The insurrection, however, was doomed to failure without the participation of the masses. The insurrectionists held out for several hours on the square, beating off the attacks of troops loyal to the tsar, and were then dispersed by artillery fire. On December 29, 1825, the revolt of the Chernigov Regiment, led by the Southern Society, began in the Vasilkov district of the Ukraine. The Chernigov Regiment was routed near the village of Kovalyovka on January 3, 1826. Five of the leaders of the Decembrist movement—P. Pestel, S. Muravyov-Apostol, M. Bestuzhev-Ryumin, P. Kakhovsky and K. Ryleyev—were hanged in July 1826 and the other Decembrists were sent to penal servitude or exile in Siberia. Many of the soldiers participating in the uprising were flogged and a number of officers were reduced to the ranks and sent to the Caucasus. The soldiers of the Chernigov Regiment were also sent there.

The Decembrist uprising was the first revolutionary action taken against tsarism in Russia that was permeated with political ideas and organized by a secret political organization. It opened the *dvoryanstvo* period in the history of the revolutionary movement, a period that lasted until 1861.

Home Policy of Tsarism in Second Quarter of 19th Century

Tsar Nicholas I (reg. 1825-1855) marked his accession to the throne by his brutal treatment of the Decembrists and his suppression of the peasant movement. By a special manifesto issued on May 12, 1826, he "repudiated all talk of freedom." The new tsar saw in the strengthening of the autocracy and the strict centralization of government a guarantee of the preservation of the serf system; to this he added a redoubled secret police system and the brutal repression of all "free-thinkers." This line in home policy gave rise to the formation in 1826 of the "Third Department" of the Imperial Chancellery to give guidance to the political police. The offensive of reaction was accompanied by campaigns against culture and education and the persecution of the progressive intelligentsia. In 1826 a new set of censorship rules, nicknamed the "cast-iron rules," was published and the political supervision of the universities was intensified. Nicholas I made an attempt to perfect the government machinery and make it more flexible for the struggle against "sedition." The codification of the laws undertaken in the thirties and the revision of local government institutions from time to time, all served this same end. These measures, however, did not remedy the monstrous abuses that were typical of the tsarist bureaucracy. The gigantic army of officials became even bigger under Nicholas I and its maintenance swallowed up a big section of the country's budget.

In an effort to improve the standards of the nobility that had been undermined by the disintegration of serfdom, the tsar's government granted loans and gratuities to ruined and impoverished landowners. At the same time measures were adopted to prevent outsiders from other sections of the population entering the ranks of the nobility. Nicholas I was troubled by the spread of the peasant movement and ordered his advisers to work out measures to ease tension in the rural atmosphere and lessen the contradictions existing between the peasants and the landowners. The so-called secret committees set up to prepare drafts for the reforms, in particular peasant reform, were afraid

to touch the foundations of the system of serfdom and confined themselves to half measures. Between 1837 and 1841, Kiselyov, Minister of State Property, effected a reform in the administration of state-owned serfs. To a certain extent it regulated the system of administrative bodies governing state-owned villages but also increased the bureaucratic trusteeship over the villages and retained the serf exploitation of their peasant inhabitants. In 1842 the Decree on the Obligations of Peasants was published. It allowed landlords to conclude contracts with their peasants which gave the latter certain personal rights although they were still forced to render service to the landowner for the use of the land. The Decree was received unfavourably by the landowners although actually it had very limited application. Equally unsuccessful were the so-called "property rules" introduced into Lithuania, Byelorussia and Western Ukraine in the forties; these rules laid down the extent of peasant holdings and feudal obligations. In view of the fact that these rules preserved the old system of land tenure, legalized corvée service and deprived peasants of some of their land they failed to satisfy the peasants or weaken the peasant movement. Tsarism's attempts to solve the crisis of serfdom had failed.

Popular Movements in the Thirties and Forties of 19th Century

In July 1830 there was a revolution in France and then in Belgium. In November 1830 the insurrection in Poland began; it lasted over a year and the tsar's troops had difficulty in suppressing it. In 1830-1831 the insurrection spread to Lithuania. In the early thirties there were "cholera riots" all over Russia caused by the quarantine measures during a cholera epidemic. They were a spontaneous protest of the masses against the serf system and the arbitrariness of the tsar's administration. The biggest disturbances were in Tambov, St. Petersburg and Staraya Russa (revolt of the Novgorod military settlements) and there were mass actions by peasants in the Ukraine where the armed struggle of the peasants in Podolia and Volhynia was led by Ustim Karmalyuk. The peasant actions affected huge areas with many thousands of people participating. In 1849, in Putivl District of Kursk Gubernia there was a simultaneous revolt of about 10,000 serfs belonging to six landowners. State-owned serfs and those allotted by the state to various enterprises took part in the protests against the brutality and extortion

of the local authorities as well as those owned by the landlords. Quite frequently the disturbances took the form of clashes with army punitive expeditions. In 1841 and 1842 army detachments in the Volga and Urals areas met with the resistance of peasants armed with stakes, scythes and, occasionally, guns. The peasant movement continued to grow: between 1826 and 1834 there were 145 peasant disturbances, but from 1845 to 1854 the number grew to 348.

The anti-feudal movement in the non-Russian areas took on new proportions; the peasants revolted both against feudal exploitation and against colonial oppression. In 1841 mass action was taken by peasants in Latvia and in Georgia. The expansion of Cossack military colonization and the brutal policy of conquest pursued by tsarism gave rise to spontaneous mass action on the part of the Caucasian mountaineers. In the twenties there were revolts in Abkhazia, Kabarda and Ossetia. In Chechna and Daghestan the mountaineers' struggle for liberation took the form of *muridism*, a reactionary tendency in Islam preaching a religious war for the extermination of all "unbelievers." This movement embraced all social strata with their internal contradictions which made it weak when faced with the well-armed forces of tsarism. From 1834 to 1859 the struggle of the Daghestan and Chechna mountaineers against tsarist colonialism was led by Shamil. In the forties disturbances among workers (in the Urals, for example) grew more frequent. Their actions showed greater solidarity and determination than those of the peasants.

The revolutions in the West-European countries in 1848 and 1849 gave further impetus to the peasant movement of that period and to widespread anti-serf sympathies throughout Russia.

Social and Political Struggle in the Thirties and Forties of 19th Century

As the crisis of the serf system grew in intensity a section of the nobility that had been drawn into the sphere of bourgeois relations raised the question of the abolition of serfdom and the transformation of the feudal monarchy into a bourgeois monarchy by means of reforms from the top. This was to be seen in the disputes that arose between the various groups of liberal intellectuals that came into existence at the end of the thirties.

One of the groups, known as the Westerners, favoured the European bourgeois systems, the others, the Slavophiles, insisted on Russian exceptionalism. The Westerners (K. D. Kavelin, B. N. Chicherin, V. P. Botkin, E. F. Korsh and others) regarded the bourgeois parliamentary monarchies of England and France as being ideal. The Slavophiles (I. V. Kireyevsky, A. S. Khomyakov, the Aksakovs and others) idealized the village commune and patriarchal rural life. The Slavophiles regarded the patriarchal community and the Orthodox Church as being the key to Russia's salvation from the "ruinous influence of the decaying West" and the "ulcer of proletarianism." Despite all their differences the Westerners and the Slavophiles were agreed on one main point—they admitted the necessity of abolishing serfdom from the top with the retention of the landlord system and the monarchy. They were united in their fear of the revolutionary movement.

The serf-owning landlords and the liberals were opposed by the progressive Russian intellectuals who favoured the revolutionary overthrow of tsarism and the complete abolition of serfdom. Representatives of the new generation of "revolutionary noblemen"—Herzen and Ogaryov—went farther than the Decembrists since they realized the role of the masses in the revolutionary transformation of society. Still more decisive in his views in this respect was Belinsky; he "heralded the supplanting of the nobility in our liberation movement by intellectuals of different class origin" (Lenin). Lenin also said that Belinsky's famous letter to Gogol was one of the best pieces of writing of the uncensored press. In this letter Belinsky indignantly censured Gogol for the reactionary, serf-owning ideas expressed in his book *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends* that Gogol wrote at the time of his spiritual crisis. The propaganda of materialist concepts and Utopian ideas, the courageous exposure of



Solitary confinement cell in the Peter and Paul Fortress, St. Petersburg (drawing by a Decembrist)

serfdom and the tsarist regime, the tireless struggle for the enlightenment and social liberation of the people—this many-sided activity on the part of Herzen, Ogaryov and Belinsky played a great part in forming revolutionary-democratic ideas in Russia. The ideas of Herzen and Belinsky greatly influenced the revolutionary circle led by Petrashevsky that grew up in St. Petersburg in 1845; this group reflected the social, political and ideological searchings of democrats drawn from the intelligentsia of the period. Some of the members of the circle favoured the idea of a popular revolution and hoped to rouse the masses of peasants, workers and soldiers in revolt. In 1849 the circle was broken up. After the defeat of the revolutions of 1848 and 1849 in the West, Herzen put forward the Utopian idea of the possibility of Russia bypassing the capitalist stage and developing directly to socialism through the peasant commune. Lenin said that there was not a grain of socialism in Herzen's Utopian concepts.

The Foreign Policy of Tsarism in Second Quarter of 19th Century

In this period tsarism still regarded the struggle against the danger of revolution in Europe as being the chief point in foreign policy. Nicholas I, acting as the "gendarme of Europe," brutally suppressed the Polish insurrection in 1831; in 1849, in alliance with the Austrian reactionaries, he crushed the Hungarian revolution. In his efforts to resurrect the Holy Alliance that had lost its prestige as a result of the European revolutions, the Russian tsar maintained close relations with the reactionary monarchies of Prussia and Austria.

At the same time, tsarism strove to stem the growing crisis within the system of serfdom, extend the sphere of feudal exploitation and lessen tension within the country, and became more active in its policy in the "Eastern question," hoping to gain control over the Straits, establish political influence in the Balkans and extend its possessions in the Transcaucasus. These tsarist plans of conquest clashed with the aggressive plans of Great Britain and other European countries and also with the urge for revenge displayed by the Shah of Persia and the Sultan of Turkey. All this led to diplomatic and military conflicts that in the twenties became more frequent in the East on account of the revolt of the Greeks against the Turkish yoke. Brit-

ish diplomacy, fearing the strengthening of Russia in the Near East and wishing to keep her attention off the problem of Greece, helped the Shah of Persia launch a war of revenge against Russia in the Transcaucasus. During the Russo-Persian war of 1826-1828, Russian troops conquered the Erivan and Nakhichevan khanates, occupied Tabriz and compelled the Shah to conclude the Treaty of Turkmanchai in 1828. By this Treaty Eastern Armenia was added to the Russian Empire.

In 1828 the Russo-Turkish War began. This war resulted in Russia gaining the mouth of the Danube and the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus, and the Akhaltsikh Province was joined to the remainder of Georgia that already formed part of the Russian Empire. According to the terms of the Adrianople Treaty that in 1829 put an end to the war, Serbia, Moldavia and Walachia were granted autonomy and Greece gained her independence. In 1830 Greece was declared an independent state.

By way of intervention in the Turco-Egyptian War, Nicholas I landed a Russian Expeditionary Corps on the Bosphorus coast; in 1833 Russia compelled Turkey to sign the Unkiar Skelessi Treaty of alliance and mutual assistance. One of the most important terms of the Treaty was the closing of the Dardanelles to warships of other countries. In 1841, however, this point of the Treaty was annulled by a new Straits Convention adopted by the international conference in London on the proposal of the British Government.

In 1846 the Kazakhs of the Elder Zhuz became subjects of the Russian Empire and thus completed the union of Russia and Kazakhstan that had begun in the 18th century. Under the influence of cultural and economic co-operation with the Russians the age-old seclusion of Kazakh economy was disturbed and some of the nomad Kazakhs settled on the land.

Crimean War, 1853-1856

A further crisis in the Eastern question resulting in the rivalry of the European powers for a sphere of influence in the Near East led to the Crimean War of 1853-1856. It began as a Russo-Turkish war but turned into a war of Britain, France, Turkey and Sardinia against Russia with Austria and Prussia neutral but hostile to the latter. In the early stages of the war the Russian navy, under Admiral Nakhimov, gained a brilliant victory

at Sinop (November 18 [30], 1853). Attacks made by British and French warships on Solovetsky Islands, Petropavlovsk (Kamchatka) and Odessa were beaten off by the local garrisons. Beginning with the autumn of 1854 military operations were concentrated in the Crimea where the enemy's expeditionary forces besieged Sevastopol. The defenders of Sevastopol were weaker than the enemy in arms and ammunition but proved vastly superior in morale and fighting qualities and in strategy. Part of the fleet was scuttled at the entrance to Sevastopol Bay to block the way to the enemy, their guns were mounted on land and the sailors became part of the garrison that heroically defended the city during 349 days of siege (October 1854-August 1855). The war exposed the technical and economic backwardness of feudal Russia and the rottenness of the tsarist regime. Nevertheless the armies of the anti-Russian coalition, despite their superior armament, could not gain a quick victory and the war was long-drawn-out. It ended with the Paris Treaty of 1856, a treaty whose terms were hard on Russia. She was forbidden to maintain a fleet in the Black Sea but suffered only a small territorial loss at the mouth of the Danube.

The Crimean War, by exposing the imminent collapse of the entire economic and political system of serfdom, aroused general public excitement. During the war the peasant anti-feudal movement grew stronger, especially in Kiev Gubernia where the peasants, in connection with their recruitment into the levies, refused to perform corvée service and submit to the landlords. The peasants expressed their willingness to defend their country against her enemies but demanded that they be regarded as "free Cossacks" not liable to service as serfs. The peasant disturbances grew greater in extent after the war. They occurred in various parts of the country: in 1857 in Western Georgia, in 1858 in Estland, Lithuania and Byelorussia, in 1859 in the Volga basin and, especially, in the central gubernias. As the mass movement grew the activities of the revolutionary democrats increased. As early as 1853 Herzen had organized the Free Russian Press in London where he published proclamations, then the symposium *Northern Star* (*Polyarnaya zvezda*) (from 1855 onwards) and *The Bell* (*Kolokol*) (from 1857) which, Lenin said, was solidly in favour of liberating the peasants. In St. Petersburg, N. Chernyshevsky and N. Dobrolyubov carried on successful revolutionary work, making skillful use of the legal press

for their revolutionary propaganda. The magazine they published, *The Contemporary* (*Souremennik*), like Herzen's *Bell*, circulated widely among the progressive Russian intelligentsia.

Russian Culture in First Half of 19th Century

The greater disintegration of feudalism and the development of new, capitalist relationships made apparent the presence of two socially different cultures within the Russian national culture. The reactionary culture of the feudal landowners was opposed by the progressive, democratic and revolutionary culture that reflected the urgent desire of the masses for liberation.

The economic development of the country and the growing complication of the administrative machinery compelled the government to increase the number of educational establishments. In addition to Moscow University, founded in 1755, universities were opened in St. Petersburg, Kazan, Kharkov, Dorpat (Tartu) in the early 19th century. In 1828 the Technological Institute was opened in St. Petersburg. The discoveries made by Russian explorers tell of the development of the science



Red Square, Moscow. Lithograph, 1840

of geography. The attention of Russian scholars turned to mechanics and power engineering, the impulse being given by the beginning of the technical revolution in Russian industry. Some outstanding research work resulted from this new interest.

Social
(Russian social thought developed in the struggle to spread revolutionary-democratic ideas; the works of Herzen and Belinsky raised materialist philosophy to a new level and enriched Russian and world culture in the fields of history, natural science, literary criticism, ethics and aesthetics. Under the conditions obtaining in tsarist Russia, fine literature and art played an important part in the propaganda of progressive ideas. The sharp social struggle found expression in the change of trends in literature and art (classicism, sentimentalism, romanticism).]

(In the second quarter of the 19th century, realism became the main trend in Russian literature and art, and was typified by the writings of Pushkin, Griboyedov, Lermontov and Gogol, the pictures of Fedotov and Ivanov, the music of Glinka and the dramatic art of Shchepkin. Progressive Russian culture, adopting the most progressive ideas of European culture, had a beneficial influence on the cultural development of the peoples of Russia and on foreign countries, especially the Slav countries.

Chapter III

THE CAPITALIST PERIOD

The Collapse of the System of Serfdom

By the middle of the 19th century the contradiction between feudal production relations and the developing productive forces of the country produced a conflict that took the form of an acute social and economic crisis. The old production relations, based on feudal land tenure, hindered technical development and a growth in the productivity of labour, curtailed the home market, slowed down the accumulation of capital and prevented the formation of the capitalist mode of production. The crisis of serfdom made the condition of the masses still worse and stimulated a further upsurge of the mass liberation movement. The objective course of economic and political development in Russia created a revolutionary situation in the country towards the end of the fifties. In these circumstances tsarism, after the defeat suffered in the Crimean War, was forced to prepare the "peasant reform" of 1861. Alexander II (reg. 1855-1881) said that it was better to abolish serfdom from the top rather than wait until it was done from below, that is, as the result of a peasant revolution. The reform was a by-product of the revolutionary struggle of the masses who forced tsarism to implement it. The mass movement, however, remained what it had been before, spontaneous, divided and local; the peasants had no leader; the weak Russian bourgeoisie was not revolutionary and the proletariat was still not formed as a class. The work of all government bodies engaged in the preparation of the reform and also of the gubernia committees of the *dvoryanstvo* was subordinated to the single task of implementing the reform in the interests of the landowners. The struggle between the

serf-owners and the liberals was merely one of the degree and form of the concessions to be made, a struggle within the ruling class. The serf-owners and liberals were opposed by the revolutionary democrats who were struggling for a complete and decisive emancipation of the peasantry. The reform of 1861 abolished serfdom. Altogether 22,500,000 serfs, formerly owned by the landlords, were emancipated. The basis of the class domination of the landlords, the ownership of the land by the *dvoryanstvo*, was preserved. The instructions (*polozheniya*) of February 19, 1861, gave holdings of land to the peasants that were, on the average, smaller than those they held before the reform. Up to two-fifths of the land held by the peasants before the reform was alienated in favour of the landlords and the land alienated was usually the best. The obligatory purchase by the peasants of the lands they were granted, introduced only in 1881, was effected by what was known as the "purchase operation." The price of the land was set higher than its real value. Until the "purchase operation" had been completed the peasants were considered temporarily bound and continued to perform their feudal obligations. The purchase payments and the numerous taxes exceeded the incomes from the peasant farms which were consequently ruined; this led to the mass impoverishment of the peasantry. The collection of purchase money was continued until 1907. Land hunger and the annual redistribution of strips of land far from each other, together with the numerous taxes and state obligations, intensified the bondage of the peasants. The system of renting land to the peasants in return for their work, introduced after the reform, was nothing more than a veiled form of *corvée* service. On February 19, 1863, the reform was extended to include serfs on the royal estates and in 1866 to include those belonging to the state. The peasant reform of 1861 was a bourgeois reform carried out by the owners of the serfs. It created certain conditions for the development of capitalism but left numerous remnants of the serf system in post-reform Russia. The reform in the non-Russian regions was of a specific character. In the Eastern Ukraine the land alienated for the benefit of the landlords amounted to as much as 40 per cent and in the Black Sea area to 30 per cent. Tiny plots of land were allotted to peasants of the non-Russian nationalities in the Volga-side area. In the Caucasus the abolition of serfdom was carried out between 1864 and 1871 under conditions that were still more

favourable to the landowners. Georgian landed proprietors, for example, were given seven times more land than the peasants and were, in addition, paid a gratuity of 7 million rubles for the personal liberation of the serfs. The temporary bondage of the Caucasian peasants was not annulled until 1912 and the purchase of plots of land began in 1913. The vestiges of feudalism were more numerous here and made themselves more strongly felt than in the central gubernias. In Byelorussia, Lithuania and Western Ukraine the large-scale peasant disturbances and the Polish insurrection in 1863-1864 compelled tsarism to make certain concessions to the peasants—to increase the land left to them, to reduce the purchase price of land and to abolish temporary bondage.

Following the abolition of serfdom, tsarism, in the sixties and seventies, introduced a number of other bourgeois reforms in the sphere of local government (rural 1864 and urban 1870), courts (the new court regulations in 1864), the financial system (founding of the State Bank in 1860, reorganization of state control, etc.), army affairs (the introduction of universal military service in 1874, etc.) and several others. All these reforms, however, were merely a step forward on the way to converting the feudal monarchy into a bourgeois monarchy. Although local bourgeois representative bodies were granted a certain amount of activity tsarism still remained a dictatorship of *dvoryanstvo* landlords and protected primarily their class interests and privileges.

Revolutionary-Democratic Movement of the Sixties

In response to the reform conducted by tsarism in the interests of the serf-owners a new wave of the mass movement swept over the whole of Russia. In the period between 1861 and 1863 there were almost two thousand peasant disturbances. Frequently they grew to the extent of open revolts and clashes with tsarist troops. The biggest revolts were at Bezdna (Kazan Gubernia) and Kandeyevka (Penza Gubernia) in 1861. Although the isolated, spontaneous actions of the peasants could not be successful they exercised great influence over the revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia. By this time the leading role in the Russian revolutionary movement had passed from the *dvoryanstvo* to intellectuals who were not members of the nobility (*raznochintsy*) but who came mostly from the petty bourgeoisie, merchants, lower ranks of the clergy and the peasantry.

About 1861 a new period in the Russian revolutionary movement began, the bourgeois-democratic movement that lasted until approximately 1895.

The revolutionary tendencies of the progressive intelligentsia were to be seen in the student disturbances in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kazan, in the appearance of secret political circles and the distribution of illegal literature (the proclamations "To the Russians," "To the Younger Generation," "Young Russia," etc.). Chernyshevsky, Herzen and Ogaryov took an active part in founding the secret revolutionary society Land and Freedom (*Zemlya i volya*) at the beginning of the sixties. The activities of the revolutionary democrats in the sixties were of great historical importance. They were the expression of the interests of the oppressed people, they exposed the predatory nature of the reform and struggled against the remnants of serfdom and tsarist despotism. They exposed the liberals who grovelled before tsarism and regarded the popular revolution as the only means of effecting the social transformation of Russia. In the sphere of theory the revolutionary democrats went as far as dialectical materialism but fell short of historical materialism.

The revolutionary democrats of the sixties were Utopian Socialists. They dreamed of the transition to socialism through the old peasant commune but they differed from the West-European Utopian Socialists in placing reliance on revolution and not on peaceful sermonizing. It is to the credit of the Russian revolutionary democrats that they not only exposed the reactionary nature of the tsarist regime, but also struggled against the idealization of the bourgeois West. Chernyshevsky, in particular, was a profound critic of capitalism. At the same time Chernyshevsky and Herzen helped the Russian intelligentsia become acquainted with the revolutionary ideas and experience of peoples abroad. There were differences of opinion between Chernyshevsky and Herzen on ideological, theoretical and tactical problems of the revolutionary struggle. Chernyshevsky was the more consistent democrat.

The revolutionary democrats of the sixties, the forerunners of Russian revolutionary social-democracy and the standard-bearers of Russian democratic culture, had a great influence on the development of Russian social life and on the ideological training of the progressive intelligentsia of other peoples of Russia. Members of secret political circles in the Ukraine (Nichiporen-

ko and others) maintained contact with Herzen. Taras Shevchenko was closely connected with Chernyshevsky, Dobrolybov and Herzen. The ideas of Herzen and Chernyshevsky also had a beneficial influence on the activities of the prominent Byelorussian revolutionary democrat Kastus Kalinovsky and on the work of the progressive Byelorussian writer F. Bogushevich. The same ideas inspired the Armenian revolutionary democrat M. Nalbandyan who was personally acquainted with Herzen and Ogaryov. Acquaintance with the works of Herzen and Chernyshevsky had a positive influence on the formation of the progressive convictions of C. Valikhanov, the Kazakh educationalist, and of I. Chavchavadze, the Georgian writer who was prominent in public affairs at that time.

The ideas of the Russian revolutionary democrats were accepted by progressive people in other Slav countries—by the leaders of the Bulgarian revolutionary liberation movement, Kh. Botev and V. Levsky, and by the Serbian revolutionary, S. Markovich.

In 1863 the revolt in Poland, headed by the Central National Committee, broke out. Some of the leaders of the party of "reds" (Dombrowski and others) shared the ideas of the Russian revo-



The "civil execution" of N. Chernyshevsky. From the painting by Y. Kozmichov

lutionary democrats. That same year the peasant revolt in Byelorussia and Lithuania began; the movement was strongly under the influence of the Russian revolutionary-democratic movement. The leaders of the revolt in Lithuania were Z. Serakowski and, after the latter's capture in April 1863, A. Mackevičius. In Byelorussia the revolt was led by K. Kalinovsky who headed the people's government of Lithuania and Byelorussia, the *Chervonny Zhond* (Red Government). Some of the officers of the army units sent by tsarism to suppress the Polish revolt were members of the Land and Freedom organization who carried on revolutionary work. Several of them went over to the side of the revolt and gave their lives for the liberty of the Polish people (Potebnya and others). In illegal manifestoes published in the columns of Herzen's *Bell*, Russian revolutionaries defended the national and social liberation of the Polish, Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples. In 1864 a tsarist army, 100,000 strong, suppressed the Polish revolt; tsarism dealt brutally with the insurgents. The participants in the peasant movement and the leaders of revolutionary democracy in Russia were persecuted with equal severity. In 1862 Chernyshevsky was arrested. After a ceremony of "civil execution" held on May 19, 1864, during which he was stood on a scaffold in public and a sword was broken over his head, Chernyshevsky was sent to penal servitude in Siberia.

Tsarism withstood the pressure of the democratic forces and the hopes placed in the peasant revolution by the revolutionary democrats were not justified.

Development of Capitalism in Russia, 1860-1890

The new, capitalist period of Russian history began with the sixties. The collapse of the serf system facilitated the rapid development of capitalism. Twenty years after the reform, machine production had decisively ousted hand labour. In 1880 two-thirds of the looms in the textile industry were machine-driven and only one-third were hand looms. In the eighties the industrial revolution was complete. Heavy industry began to develop and new industrial centres arose. There were qualitative changes in the social relations, the class structure of society: new classes appeared, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The rate of development of industry in post-reform Russia was higher than in Western Europe. In the 40 years from 1860 to 1900

production in Russia increased sevenfold, that of Germany in the same period, fivefold, of France, two and a half times over, while that of Britain was little more than doubled. Despite these high rates of development, however, Russia remained an economically backward country, one that was still basically agrarian. The concentration of production and workers was very high in Russian industry: from 1866 to 1890 the number of big enterprises employing more than a thousand workers was more than doubled, the number of workers concentrated in those factories was more than trebled and their output increased almost fivefold. Forty-six per cent of all workers and 43 per cent of total industrial output in 1890 was concentrated in the big factories. Despite this development of big industrial enterprises, the old manufactories, employing hand labour, lasted longer in Russia than in other countries; the petty production of commodities was also very widespread, mainly in cottage industries. Side by side with the factory towns (Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Bogorodsk, Serpukhov and others) there grew up big villages with developed local industries (Pavlovo, Vorsma and others). At the end of the first ten years after the reform, Russia went through a period of company promotion, widespread speculation in new enterprises that grew up like mushrooms. In the course of five years (1869-1873) 281 limited companies with a total capital of 697.6 million rubles were founded. The industrial crisis of 1873 brought bankruptcy to many companies that had come into being during the stock-market boom. The period of industrial prosperity that began in 1878 was short-lived and was followed by another crisis in the early eighties, an overproduction crisis, that ended in a long depression dragging on until 1886. There was no further economic revival until 1887, the remnants of serfdom making it hard for Russian industry to get out of a state of crisis.

The expansion of internal trade and Russia's connections with the world market facilitated the development of steam transport. The railway network increased from 3,800 km. in 1865 to 29,000 km. in 1890. The number of steamships on Russian rivers increased from 646 in 1868 to 2,539 in 1895.

The possibility of gaining high profits attracted foreign capital to Russia; its invasion of Russian economy increased in the eighties and especially in the nineties as monopoly capitalism developed in the West. In 1880 the share of foreign capital in the mining, metalworking, engineering and chemical indus-

tries was about 38 per cent of the total share capital invested in those industries.

The development of capitalism in Russia was uneven. The Urals, whose industries had formerly been built up on serf labour, lagged a long way behind. From 1867 to 1897 the share of the Urals in iron smelting dropped from 65.1 per cent to 35.8 per cent of the total, and that of the southern industries increased from 0.3 per cent to 40.4 per cent. In the central black-earth gubernias and in the mid-Volga gubernias (where corvée service was highly developed) the growth of capitalist relations was hindered by strong remnants of serfdom. In the central industrial regions, where the corvée system had been undermined even before the reform, these vestiges of serfdom soon lost their strength and capitalist metal and textile industries developed rapidly. The highest rate of capitalist development was registered in the Baltic regions, the Azov region and the Ciscaucasian region which is to be explained not only by the nearness of these regions to the seaports but also by the relatively weak feudal relations in pre-reform days. In the eighties new industrial regions were formed in the south—the Donets Basin and Krivoi Rog with new industrial centres at Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog and Yekaterinoslav (now Dniepropetrovsk). Baku became the chief industrial centre of the Transcaucasus. In Siberia the gold-fields were worked intensively and iron and coal deposits were mined.

With the growth of industry and the population leaving the countryside for the towns came an increased demand for raw materials and foodstuffs. This led to increased farming and cattle-breeding for the market. The landed estates that had been run by the corvée system evolved into capitalist farms. Increased farm production for the market intensified the break-up of the peasantry: the middle strata were "washed away" and the village was left with the small group of rural bourgeoisie at one pole and the numerous proletarianized poor peasants at the other. The disintegration of the peasantry helped widen the home market for industrial goods and was the chief source from which the new classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, were formed. The development of capitalism was hampered by the survivals of serfdom. The domination of the nobility as land-owners and the absence of rights for the peasantry determined the development of capitalism in the countryside by the "Prussian" method—the retention of big landed estates and ex-



Collecting Arrears. Painting by V. Pukirev

plottation of peasants who were economically dependent on the landowners. The alienation of land caused great land hunger. Sharecropping and the payment of rent by service ruined the peasants; the landowners, furthermore, had no interest in the purchase of machinery or improved farming methods. The countryside was persistently hungry and poverty-stricken. The low purchasing power of the overwhelming majority of the rural population narrowed the market for industry.

The development of capitalism in Russian agriculture was complicated by the agrarian crisis in the late seventies which dragged on until the middle nineties under the influence of the remnants of serfdom. The harvest failure and famine of 1891-1892 was a heavy burden on Russian economy; it doomed the population of many areas to mass extinction.

Spread of Capitalism. Conquest of Central Asia

The process of the economic absorption of the Caucasus by Russian capitalism began in the post-reform period. At the end of the long and bloody Caucasian wars in 1864, tsarism extend-

ed the bourgeois reforms formerly effected in the central regions to the Caucasus, although in curtailed form, and made a number of administrative changes, everywhere introducing the Russian system and striving to level out local political peculiarities. These measures helped draw the Caucasus into developing Russian capitalism and then into the world market. But remnants of the patriarchal-feudal system in the Transcaucasus coupled with the military-feudal methods of rule adopted by the tsarist administration hampered the development of capitalist relations. The Transcaucasus remained an agrarian region and was a source of raw material and a market for Russian industry. The Ciscaucasus, however, started out on the path of capitalist development much more quickly; the virgin steppes were farmed mainly by Russian settlers and by the end of the 19th century had become an area of farming and cattle-breeding for the market. In the Kuban and Stavropol regions Russians and Ukrainians by that time accounted for over 90 per cent of the population. At this time, also, the Black Sea area was developed: big seaports (Novorossiisk, Tuapse) and health resorts (Anapa, Sochi) were opened and there was a big wine industry (Abrau-Diurso). The economic development of the Caucasus was greatly helped by the building of railways (the Transcaucasian Railway, 1871-1883, the Vladikavkaz Railway, 1875, and others) and also by the working of the oilfields (Baku, Grozny) and iron mines (Chiaturi, Alaverdi, Kafan).

In 1864-1885 Central Asia was conquered by tsarism and annexed to Russia. Of the three big feudal countries, one (the Khanate of Kokand) was abolished and the other two (the Emirate of Bokhara and the Khanate of Khiva) were territorially reduced and became vassals of Russian tsarism. In 1867 all the annexed territories were joined to form the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan with the centre at Tashkent. The concentration of power in the hands of the military authorities facilitated the introduction of a colonial regime and the suppression of any manifestation of discontent on the part of the local population. The building of the main line of the Transcaspiian Railway between 1880 and 1896 accelerated the conversion of Central Asia into a cotton-growing area and a market for Russia's industrial goods.

Despite the "great power" politics of Russian tsarism and the arbitrary rule of the tsar's officials, despite the military (Cossack) colonization and the expulsion of some of the native

population to the poorer districts, despite the ruin of local cottage industries by competition from without and the ruin of the masses of peasants and craftsmen, the annexation of Central Asia to Russia had, objectively, a positive significance for the peoples of Central Asia. It put an end to feudal strife and provided conditions for the abolition of feudal disunity. Through their intercourse with the more progressive Russian culture the working people of Central Asia were drawn into the all-Russian revolutionary movement. In the Russian people they acquired a powerful ally and leader in the struggle against feudal and capitalist oppression and against the colonial policy of tsarism.

The efforts of Russian capitalism to spread outwards and provide itself with markets on the outskirts of the empire were to a considerable extent due to the limited home market. The southern and eastern rim of Russia to an ever greater extent became colonies of Russian capitalism. The possibility of extending capitalism to some extent weakened but did not solve the contradictions existing in post-reform Russia. Tens of thousands of Russian and Ukrainian peasants left the central regions for the under-populated parts of Siberia and the Far East in the hope of freeing themselves from their semi-feudal bonds. But in the new districts the settlers were oppressed by government officials and exploited by the local bourgeoisie. Many of the settlers, completely ruined, returned to the central regions and joined the ranks of the proletariat. Those of the settlers who made good in the new districts played an important part in the economic development of the outskirts of the country, the spread of farm crops and the utilization of natural resources. The local inhabitants learned more progressive methods of farming from the Russian and Ukrainian settlers—new crops (potatoes, sugar-beet, etc.), better animal husbandry, farm implements; better types of housing, transport and communications.

With the transition of Russia to the capitalist path of development the long process of the formation of the Russian bourgeois nation was completed; at the same time the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Armenian, Latvian, Estonian and other bourgeois nations were fully formed. There were, however, a number of peoples who did not form themselves into nations in pre-revolutionary Russia (the Caucasian mountaineers, the Bashkirs, the Kirghiz, Turkmenians and others). Some of them

still remained at the semi-patriarchal, semi-feudal stage of development.

The Russian bourgeoisie, to a certain extent dependent on tsarism and on foreign capital, were never revolutionary and in the post-reform period were closely tied to the ruling circles of the empire of the nobility by their fear of the oncoming revolution. Although the national bourgeoisie of the outlying regions talked of protecting national interests, they were, in fact, doing their utmost to keep the working people drawn from the local nationalities isolated from the all-Russian revolutionary movement and infect them with the poison of nationalist propaganda. As class forces became delineated on an all-Russian scale and the international intercourse of the working people of the various nations grew stronger, the national bourgeoisie favoured an alliance with the Russian bourgeoisie and an agreement with tsarism.

**The Revolutionary Narodniks (Populists)
in the Seventies. Home Policy of Tsarism
in the Seventies and Eighties**

After the tsarist government had dealt with Chernyshevsky and other leaders of the revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia of the sixties and a decline in the mass peasant movement had set in, a period of reaction began. In the early seventies, however, the revolutionary movement gained fresh impetus. At this time the Narodniks (Populists) constituted the chief revolutionary trend. The first Narodnik circles grew up in the late sixties and early seventies (circles led by Nathanson, Ishutin, Dolgushin and others). The peak of the Narodnik movement was reached when they "went among the people." In 1873-1874 young intellectuals, frequently wearing peasant costume, moved into the villages, mainly in the Volga, Don and Dnieper areas. They idealized the peasant commune, seeing in it the nucleus of socialism, believed that the peasantry was the chief revolutionary force and tried to raise the countryside for an "all-Russian revolt" with the aid of socialist propaganda. The ideas of the Russian Narodniks met with a response among the Ukrainian, Armenian and Georgian democratic intelligentsia. The movement known as "going among the people" ended in failure. Towards the end of 1874 over 1,000 Narodnik revolutionaries were arrested, and after an investigation that was carried on

until 1877-1878, 193 of them were brought to trial. In 1876 the Narodnik organization Land and Freedom (*Zemlya i volya*) was formed in St. Petersburg. Leading members of this organization were S. M. Kravchinsky, G. V. Plekhanov, A. D. Mikhailov, O. V. Aptekman. The Land and Freedom organization adopted the tactic of setting up permanent residences in the villages for the purpose of organizing peasant revolts. In 1879, on the grounds of a difference in their attitude to the question of individual terror, the Land and Freedom split into two organizations—the Black Redistribution (*Chornyy peredel*) (Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod, Aptekman, V. I. Zasulich and others) and People's Will (*Narodnaya volya*) (A. I. Zhelyabov, A. D. Mikhailov, M. F. Frolenko, V. N. Figner, S. L. Perovskaya and others). The former group retained, in the main, the principles of the Land and Freedom organization; later some of them, headed by Plekhanov, broke with the Narodnik movement and went over to Marxism. The People's Will group, whose aim was the organization of a political revolution, concentrated all their efforts on acts of individual terror.

The revolutionary activity of the Narodniks was an important element in the new revolutionary situation of 1879-1880. The specific feature of the revolutionary situation was the growing working-class movement and the inception of Russia's first independent working-class organizations: the South Russian Workers' Union in Odessa (1875) and the Northern Union of Russian Workers in St. Petersburg (1878). This second revolutionary situation, like the first, did not grow into a revolution. The Narodniks were incapable of heading the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. They had exhausted their forces with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II on March 1, 1881. Tsarism went over to a policy of open reaction and police terror. The government of the new Tsar Alexander III (reg. 1881-1894) introduced a number of reactionary measures—"counter-reforms"—for the purpose of strengthening the autocracy and the class rule of the *dvoryanstvo* landed proprietors by means of perpetuating the remnants of feudalism and reviving a number of serf laws. In 1889 the institute of "rural governors" (*zemskie nachalniki*) was introduced; in 1890 the rural government regulations and in 1892 those concerned with urban local government were reviewed. Beginning with 1894 tsarism began a review of the court regulations of 1864.

Growth of the Working-Class Movement and the Spread of Marxism in Russia

The Russian proletariat took shape as capitalism developed. In 1865 there were 706,000 workers employed in big industries and on the railways; by 1890 the number had reached 1,432,000. The rapid growth of the proletariat was accompanied by their further concentration in the big industrial enterprises. The working class took leadership over the millions of the peasantry. Progressive Russian workers raised workers of other nationalities to revolutionary struggle in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic regions, Poland and the Caucasus. In the Ukraine the proletariat was made up both of Russians and Ukrainians; a large percentage of the proletariat of Byelorussia, the Baltic regions and the Transcaucasus were Russians. The whole course of historical development placed the Russian working class at the head of the all-Russian democratic movement, made Russian workers the leaders of the workers of all the peoples of Russia in their joint struggle against social and national oppression. Proletarian solidarity united the workers of all nationalities.

During the industrial crisis of the eighties and as a direct result of it the strike movement among the workers became more



Miners' dwellings at Yuzovka. 70s of the 19th century. A drawing

widespread. In the central industrial region (Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Serpukhov) a number of strikes took place, among them the famous Morozov Strike at Orekhovo-Zuyevo in 1885, the first mass organized action of Russian workers. The strike movement spread to the Ukraine (strike of the Kiev railwaymen in 1880, Poltava railwaymen in 1884 and others), Byelorussia and the Baltic regions. Everywhere Russian workers were the instigators of the revolutionary struggle, by their example encouraging workers of other nationalities.

The progress made by the working-class movement in Russia and the influence of the experience gained by West-European workers provided favourable soil for the inception of the first Russian Marxist organizations. Plekhanov organized the first Russian Marxist group in Geneva in 1883—the Emancipation of Labour group—which laid the theoretical foundations for the Russian revolutionary working-class movement. Members of the group played an important part in spreading the ideas of scientific socialism in Russia. Marxist groups and circles began to make their appearance in Russia itself. In the winter of 1883-1884 Blagoyev's group was founded in St. Petersburg, in 1885, Tochissky's group, in 1888, Brusnev's group, in Kazan in 1888, Fedoseyev's group, etc. The Russian working class was confronted with the problem of forming a revolutionary proletarian party. The Narodniks were an ideological hindrance to the founding of such a party. Of great significance in the struggle against the Narodniks and in the spreading of Marxism in Russia were Plekhanov's writings—*Socialism and the Political Struggle* (1883), *Our Differences* (1885), *The Development of the Monist View of History* (1895), *The Role of the Individual in History* (1898), and others. Plekhanov was the first to give a Marxist interpretation of the mistaken views of the Narodniks, thus clearing the way for the spread of Marxism in Russia. In 1893 Lenin came to St. Petersburg and became the accepted leader of the St. Petersburg Marxists. Lenin struck the final blow at the subjective idealistic ideology of the Narodniks and completed their ideological defeat. In his book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* (1894) he exposed the liberal Narodniks of the nineties as being the ideologists of the kulak peasantry who rejected the revolutionary struggle and preached reconciliation with the tsarist government. In his *Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1896-1899, published in 1899) Lenin used a tremendous

amount of material drawn from rural statistics and government censuses to disprove the subjective idealistic views of the Narodniks that capitalism was developing "artificially" in Russia, and showed that capitalism was developing in agriculture and in industry, that the peasantry was being socially differentiated and that a proletariat and a bourgeoisie were being formed; he showed why the proletariat would play the leading role in the coming revolution. Lenin not only criticized the Narodniks, he also came out against the bourgeois-liberal "fellow-travelers" of Marxism, the so-called "legal Marxists." In 1895 Lenin organized the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class in St. Petersburg. Similar unions were founded in Moscow, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav and other towns. Lenin's League laid the foundations for the combination of scientific socialism with the working-class movement and became the nucleus of a revolutionary proletarian party. The third, or proletarian, period of Russian revolutionary history began in 1895.

Tsarism's Foreign Policy in the Post-Reform Period

The defeat of tsarism in the Crimean War undermined its international prestige. The chief purpose of tsarist diplomacy was to effect an annulment of the restrictions to which Russia was subjected by the Paris Treaty of 1856 and to re-establish Russian influence in the Balkans. The tsar's government hoped to achieve this aim by a rapprochement with the French Emperor Napoleon III. When this policy did not justify itself the Russian Foreign Minister, Gorchakov, turned to a rapprochement with Prussia. Gorchakov took advantage of France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian war and on October 19, 1870, having the support of Prussia, declared that Russia did not consider herself bound by the restricting clauses of the Paris Treaty. Despite the opposition of British diplomacy, representatives of Russia and other powers signed an agreement on March 13, 1871, annulling the principle of Black Sea neutrality and permitting Russia to maintain a fleet there and build coastal defences. Russian sovereignty on the Black Sea was re-established. In 1873 the Alliance of Three Emperors—of Russia, Germany and Austro-Hungary—was formed but it was an alliance that proved very unstable since Austrian expansion in the Balkans and the growing strength of the German Empire alarmed Russian ruling circles.

In 1875 the insurrection against the Turkish yoke in Bosnia and Herzegovina broke out and was followed by a similar insurrection in Bulgaria in 1876. Serbia and Montenegro joined the liberation movement of the Balkan peoples. Tsarist diplomacy put forward a demand for the autonomy of the Balkan Slavs, having in mind the unification of all Slavs under the aegis of the Russian tsar. Progressive intellectuals and the masses of the Russian people, genuinely sympathizing with the struggle of the Balkan Slavs, collected funds for them; several thousand Russian volunteers went to Serbia to take part in the fight for liberation. Hoping that a victorious war would distract the attention of the masses of the people in Russia from internal social problems and strengthen Russian influence in the Balkans, the tsarist government decided to take action against Turkey.

The successful actions of Russian troops in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 led to the complete military defeat of Turkey. Russia's victory was confirmed by the San Stefano Peace Treaty in 1878. The results of the war, however, were reviewed at the Berlin Congress that was convened that same year on the insistence of British and Austrian diplomacy with the support of Bismarck. Despite the opposition of the Western Powers, Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro acquired independence and Bulgaria autonomy. Batum, Kars and Ardagan and their environs went to Russia as well as the southern part of Bessarabia that had been lost after the Crimean War.

After the Berlin Congress, Russia was in a state of political isolation. Anglo-Russian antagonism in Central Asia continued to grow. Under these conditions the tsarist government agreed, in 1881, to a revival of the Alliance of Three Emperors. But Russo-Austrian rivalry in the Balkans soon rendered this treaty valueless.

In the meantime the rapprochement between Russia and France, apparent since 1887, led to the conclusion of the Franco-Russian Alliance as a counter-measure to the formation of the Triple Alliance of Austria, Germany and Italy. The rapprochement between France and Russia had been accelerated by France granting Russia big loans and by French capital investments in Russian industry. The Russo-French agreement of 1891 was complemented by a Military Convention in 1892 which was confirmed at the end of 1893. The Franco-Russian Alliance was the basis on which the Entente was formed in 1907.

The growing political and economic expansion of Britain, France and the U.S.A. in the Far East in the middle of the 19th century threatened to undermine long-standing Russo-Chinese economic relations and compelled Russia to annex the Amur basin. Negotiations resulted in the Russo-Chinese Treaty of 1860 delineating a permanent frontier between Russia and China and regulating Russo-Chinese commercial relations. The competition of American capitalists, the weakness of Russia's position in the Pacific Ocean and her financial difficulties compelled the tsarist government to accede to the persistent proposals of U. S. ruling circles and in 1867 Alaska and other Russian possessions in America were sold to the U.S.A.

Russian Culture in Second Half of 19th Century

The completion of the industrial revolution and the development of large-scale machine industry in the post-reform period activized Russian scientific and technical development.

The development of Russian social thought in the period found expression in the works of Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. Marx called Chernyshevsky a great scholar and critic and had a high opinion of his economic researches. Towards the end of the 19th century, together with the formation of the proletariat and the spread of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism in Russia, new, socialist elements appeared in Russian culture in addition to general democratic ideas. The first Marxist works were those of G. V. Plekhanov that appeared in the eighties.

Critical realism had become definitely established as the chief trend in literature and art. In literature the chief representatives of this trend were Turgenev, Goncharov, Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Uspensky and Nekrasov. Progressive, democratic tendencies were also evinced in Russian painting, music and the theatre. The lofty ideological content and profound national spirit of progressive Russian culture exercised a revolutionizing influence on the culture of other peoples of Russia.

The development of capitalism and the formation of bourgeois nations conditioned the more rapid growth of national cultures in the second half of the 19th century. The struggle of two cultures is to be traced in the history of any national culture. The revolutionary-democratic elements of every nation had to

overcome the resistance of the bourgeois nationalists and, in many cases, of reactionary feudal and clerical elements. The development of a progressive democratic culture was also hampered by the "great power," chauvinistic policy of Russian tsarism and the colonial regime imposed by the tsar's officials in the outlying districts of the empire.

Intercourse with progressive Russian culture was an inspiration and moral support to progressive local intellectuals in their struggle to enlighten the masses of the people, to create a new literary language close to that spoken by the people and use it to produce the new literature of realism. The leading figures of the national cultures—the Ukrainian poet-revolutionary Taras Shevchenko, the Azerbaijan educationalist Akhundov, the Latvian poet-democrat Janis Rainis, the Kazakh poet and educationalist Abai Kunanbayev and others—always found fraternal support among progressive Russian thinkers and classic writers.

The achievements of the peoples of Russia, first and foremost of the Great Russian people, made a fine contribution to the treasure-house of world culture. Russian scientists, writers, painters, musicians and actors played an active part in the development of world science and art.

RUSSIA IN THE PERIOD OF IMPERIALISM AND BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS

Russia Enters the Period of Imperialism. Shifting of the Centre of the Revolutionary Movement to Russia

In the nineties of the 19th century big industry expanded rapidly, mainly under the influence of extensive railway construction (in the eighties 7,700 km. of railway were built, in the nineties 22,600 km.), the patronage of the tsarist government (prohibitive tariffs, government orders, etc.) and the adoption of the gold standard (currency reform of 1897). These were years of capitalism's greatest development and expansion. The growth of capitalist relations in the rural areas and the disintegration of the peasantry provided a labour force and a home market for the sale of manufactured goods. The total number of workers in industrial establishments throughout Russia increased by 66.6 per cent between 1890 and 1900 (from 1,424,700 to

2,373,400) and the total value of commodities produced increased by 100 per cent (from 1,502.7 to 3,005.9 million rubles).

Table 1

EXTRACTION OF COAL, OIL AND IRON ORE, SMELTING OF IRON AND STEEL IN RUSSIA IN 1890 AND 1900 (MILLION POODS)

	1890	1900
Coal — total mined	367.2	995.2
Donets Basin	183.3	691.5
which is % of total	49.9	69.5
Oil — total extracted	241.0	632.0
Baku	226.0	601.0
which is % of total	93.8	95.1
Iron ore — total mined	106.3	367.2
in southern regions	23.0	210.1
which is % of total	21.6	57.2
Pig iron — total smelted	55.2	176.8
in southern regions	13.4	91.6
which is % of total	24.3	51.8
Malleable iron and steel — total	48.4	134.4
in southern regions	8.6	59.2
which is % of total	17.8	44.0

The specific feature of the progress made was the considerable growth of heavy industry. Industrial production as a whole was doubled between 1890 and 1900 but heavy industry increased by 180 per cent and light industry by only 60 per cent. There was an exceptionally rapid rise of the mining and iron industry of the southern regions of Russia.

The Urals presented a different picture. The old, pre-reform relations were preserved (monopoly of the ironmasters who were also big landed proprietors; the workers were bound to the plants by small holdings in land, etc.) which hampered the development of industry in the area. Despite the great variety and wealth of the natural resources of the Urals, technical backwardness was overcome very slowly and the productivity of labour remained at a low level, so that the Urals dropped farther and farther behind the capitalist south where big industries developed during the last decades of the 19th century after the abolition of serfdom. Because of this the southern regions

knew no traditions, social estates, or national divisions, no seclusion of definite sections of the population (Lenin). The Urals' share in the output of metals dropped from 67 per cent in the seventies to 28 per cent in 1900.

The rate of industrial growth in the nineties was far from the potentialities of Russia with her inexhaustible natural resources, population of many millions and significant achievements in the sphere of Russian scientific and technical thought. Although Russia increased her coal output by more than 150 per cent in the nineties she was still producing only one-twentieth of U. S. and almost one-fourteenth of Britain's, one-sixth of Germany's and a half of France's output at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1900, Russia occupied fourth place in the world for the quantity of iron smelted, having surpassed France, but still lagged far behind the U.S.A., Great Britain and Germany. A still greater lag was to be seen in the important economic index of production per head of the population. In 1898 Russia's output of iron per head of the population was 25 per cent of French, 10 per cent of U. S. and about 8 per cent of British output. Despite the growth of industry Russia still remained an agrarian country. The census figures of 1897 showed that 77.2 per cent of the population were engaged in agricultural pursuits and only 17.3 per cent in industry, trade, transport and building. The urban population of European Russia amounted to only 13.4 per cent of the total.

The limited nature of the home market left the demand for manufactured goods lagging behind the growth of industry. Dearer credits resulting from the shrinking market were a herald of the over-production crisis that came at the turn of the century. At the end of 1899 the bank rate (of the State Bank) rose to 7 per cent as compared with 5 per cent at the beginning of the year. Private commercial banks began to curtail their discounting and lending operations and to demand the immediate repayment of loans. The big financial and industrial combines of von Derwis, Mamontov and Alchevsky went bankrupt in the summer of 1899.

The crisis began in light industry but reached its peak in the metallurgical and engineering industries. These were branches of industry that had developed mainly through budget subsidies and foreign loans. The reduction of government orders for railway equipment, due to financial difficulties, aggravated the over-production crisis in the metallurgical and engineering in-

dustries. Between 1900 and 1903 industrial output was reduced by 5.7 per cent, the consumption of cotton dropped by 0.6 per cent but the smelting of iron in the same period fell by 15 per cent, the output of rails by 32 per cent, the output of locomotives and rolling stock by 25-37 per cent. Only 53 per cent of the production capacities of the metallurgical plants was utilized in 1903.

The crisis and the subsequent depression resulted in the share of Russian metallurgy in world production falling from 7.8 per cent in 1900 to 4.8 per cent in 1908. At the same time the industrial crisis accelerated the concentration of industry. The greatest concentration was in the metallurgical, coal and oil industries of the southern regions of Russia; they developed on the basis of a growing influx of foreign capital that entered Russia in the form of *rentier* capital and was made profitable mainly by government orders. As early as 1900 five out of the sixteen metallurgical plants in South Russia accounted for about 50 per cent of the total production of iron in that area and 25 per cent of the total Russian production. The concentration of industry was accompanied by an increase in the amount of power used; the total mechanical energy (not including mines, transport and military plants) rose from 854,000 h.p. in 1900 to 1,206,000 h.p. in 1908, i.e., an increase of 41.2 per cent. It was also accompanied by a growth in the capital of joint-stock commercial banks. Between 1900 and 1908 the basic capital of the 12 biggest joint-stock banks rose from 68.8 per cent to 78.2 per cent of the total capital of all joint-stock banks. The concentration of industry and banking prepared the way for the appearance of monopoly mergers in industry. The first monopolies in Russian industry had been formed between 1880 and 1890. These early monopoly agreements, however, were of a temporary and unstable nature. With the onset of the industrial crisis of 1900-1903 the monopolies gradually spread to all branches of industry. In 1902 the most powerful syndicate in tsarist Russia—Prodamet, an organization for the marketing of the output of the Russian metallurgical plants—was formed with French, Belgian and German capital playing the decisive part. This was followed in 1904 by Produgol, the Society for the Marketing of Donets Basin Mineral Fuel, and the Urals Ironmasters' Trust, etc. In the oil industry the monopolies were formally organized somewhat later but as early as 1900 the Swedish firm of Nobel accounted for 30 per cent of the out-

put of oil products. The syndicates also affected the light industries. In 1901 the syndicates of jute factories and St. Petersburg linen manufacturers were organized. By 1904 there were about 30 publicly announced and no fewer secret monopoly organizations.

A struggle for markets began between the monopolies and the outside producers. The syndicates fixed specially low "fighting" prices in the markets where their competitors were trading. There was also a struggle within the monopolies to increase the share of different groups. The participation of the banks in industrial, commercial and transport enterprises and the participation of the monopolies in the banks led to a merging of industrial and banking capital with the formation of finance capital and a financial oligarchy.

In the early 20th century Russian capitalism entered the imperialist stage of development. The emergence of capitalist monopolies on the basis of a high concentration of production and capital, the merging of industrial and banking capital and the formation of finance capital and a financial oligarchy, the export of capital, the participation of Russia in the economic and territorial division of the world and in the struggle for its re-division—all these symptoms of imperialism were to be found in Russia in that period. Nevertheless, Russian imperialism had specific features of its own due to the strong remnants of serfdom in the social and economic structure of the country.

In the second half of the 19th century there was a development of commercial farming accompanied by the specialization of some regions of the country, with increased import of farm machinery from abroad and its manufacture in Russia; wage labour was employed more extensively, land, draught animals and improved farm implements were concentrated in the hands of the kulaks, or richer farmers. Out of the 11,100,000 peasant farms in 48 gubernias of European Russia in 1900, 2,000,000 belonged to kulaks (18.5 per cent), 2,500,000 to middle peasants (22 per cent) and 6,600,000 to poor peasants (59.5 per cent). The kulaks owned between two-thirds and three-quarters of the negotiable land and between 50 and 80 per cent of the land rented by the peasants; they also owned over half the total number of horses. The impoverishment of the peasant masses who had lost their horses and farm implements led the landowners to abandon corvée forms of exploitation and go over to cap-

capitalist methods of farming. The landowners acquired farm implements and machinery, introduced multifield crop rotation and grass planting and made growing use of wage labour. When they began farming on their own account the landowners frequently took from the peasants and "fenced in" those lands that had been recorded as landlord property in the sixties but had remained at the disposal of the peasants.

Highly developed capitalist forms in industry were combined with backward, semi-feudal relations in agriculture and the political domination of the landowners. By the end of the 19th century, 30,000 big landowners had a total of 70,000,000 dessiatines of land, i.e., an average of 2,333 dessiatines to each estate, while 10,500,000 poverty-stricken peasant farms amounted to 75,000,000 dessiatines, i.e., an average of 7 dessiatines to a farm. The landowners oppressed the peasants and rented them the necessary land on a sharecropping or corvée basis. The curtailment of their holdings, work for the landowner, taxes, ruinous rents and fines reduced the labouring peasantry to a state of extreme penury. In 1870 there were 20 horses to every hundred villagers and by 1900 the number had been reduced to 14. The retention of primitive methods of tilling the soil and routine farming were among the vestiges of serfdom. Crop failures were of frequent occurrence. The profound gulf between medieval forms of farming and the whole system of national economy that was becoming capitalist led to a sharpening of the agrarian crisis at the turn of the century. The development of capitalism made it historically inevitable that medieval land tenure and all remnants of serfdom should be abolished. This was a change that could be effected in two ways: by revolution or reform. The landowners fought for the "Prussian Junker" type of capitalist development in agriculture; by this method the old serf estate of the landlord developed gradually into a bourgeois enterprise, condemning the peasantry to oppression and ruin and the formation of a small kulak class. The peasants struggled for the abolition of the big landed estates, of class privileges and other survivals of feudalism. The combination of capitalist and semi-feudal relations caused two social wars in the rural districts: between the entire peasantry and the landowners and between the kulaks and the poorer peasantry. The peasantry sided with the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The condition of the working class in Russia also deteriorated as a result of the vestiges of serfdom in the polit-

ical and economic structure of the country and the political oppression; the Russian working class, therefore, was directly interested in their abolition.

The Russian proletariat grew rapidly in numbers in the last decades of the 19th century. The total number of wagedworkers employed in industry, on the railways, in agriculture, building and logging was about 10 million according to the census of 1897; of these first place was still taken by textile workers (621,000 in 1900 or 38 per cent of all industrial workers) and second place by metalworkers (236,000). The proletariat grew with greatest rapidity in the new branches of industry and in new industrial areas. Between 1887 and 1897 the number of workers in the metallurgical plants increased by 107 per cent as compared with 57 per cent in the cotton industry. In 1890, workers in the heavy industries constituted 43 per cent of all industrial workers, and by 1900 their share had risen to 50 per cent. The proletariat came, in the main, from impoverished peasants.

The low development of the productive forces in agriculture produced a tremendous surplus of labour, a huge reserve labour army. By 1900 this army amounted to 23,000,000 or almost half the adult rural population. The overpopulation of the rural districts, especially in the central farming regions, had its effect on workers' wages which showed no increase up to the revolution of 1905-1907. The low wages of Russian workers provided the capitalists with huge super-profits, from two to three times greater than the usual profit on basic capital in the West-European countries. Participation in strikes was, under tsarist laws, a criminal offence. But it was the stubborn strike struggle of Russian workers that in 1897 produced the legal curtailment of the working day to eleven and a half hours. The survivals of serfdom combined with police oppression to produce the most predatory exploitation in the form of arbitrary fines, various stoppages, a system of factory shops, a form of bondage for seasonal workers and corporal punishment. The insanitary condition of the production premises—poor lighting, overcrowding and the absence of ventilation and safety-first measures had a disastrous effect on the health of the workers.

The Russian proletariat was specific, not only in its rapid growth but also in its concentration in large enterprises (see Table 2).

Table 2

DEGREE OF CONCENTRATION
OF INDUSTRY IN EUROPEAN RUSSIA IN 1901, 1910 AND 1914
(Enterprises Under the Supervision of Factory Inspectors)

No. of workers in one factory	Number of factories					
	1901	%	1910	%	1914	%
Less than 50	12,740	70.5	9,909	65.7	8,929	63.5
51 to 100	2,428	13.4	2,201	14.6	2,088	14.9
101 to 500	2,288	12.6	2,213	14.7	2,253	16.1
501 to 1,000	403	2.2	433	2.9	432	3.1
Over 1,000	243	1.3	324	2.1	344	2.4
	18,102	100.0	15,080	100.0	14,046	100.0
No. of workers in one factory	Number of workers					
	1901	%	1910	%	1914	%
Less than 50	243,615	14.3	219,665	11.6	199,922	10.2
51 to 100	171,170	10.1	158,704	8.3	148,954	7.6
101 to 500	492,095	28.9	507,886	26.7	504,440	25.7
501 to 1,000	269,133	15.8	302,840	15.9	296,347	15.1
Over 1,000	525,637	30.9	713,648	37.5	811,197	41.4
	1,701,650	100.0	1,902,743	100.0	1,960,860*	100.0

The high level of concentration in industry was to be explained by the fact that in Russia, a young capitalist country, the most important branches of industry—metallurgy, fuel and engineering—developed from the outset in the form of big capitalist enterprises. In the heavy industry branches the building of big enterprises was stimulated by the large scale of railway and military orders placed by the tsarist government. Owing to the low wages level it was not necessary to employ large numbers

* Excluding the Warsaw area.

of machines, the muscular energy of the workers was more profitable. The concentration of workers in Russian industry, therefore, was greater in comparison with the highly developed capitalist countries than the concentration of industry.

The economic and political backwardness of Russia favoured the infiltration of foreign capital into the country. The tremendous natural resources, the huge market and the cheap labour market provided foreign capitalists with a greater measure of profit than was obtainable in their own countries. The import of capital, although it accelerated the development of Russian industry, placed the chief branches (coal, metallurgy, oil and some others) at the mercy of world finance capital. It has been computed by the economist P. Ol that the influx of foreign capital into limited companies from 1894 to 1899 amounted to 582.2 million rubles, i.e., about 52 per cent of the total increment in share capital for the period. By the beginning of the 20th century more than one-third of all stocks and shares in limited companies were held abroad.

In 1900 the ownership of foreign share capital by nationalities was the following (million rubles): Belgian, 296.5; French, 226.1; German, 219.3; British, 136.8; American, 8.0. The Russian monopolies were, with a few exceptions, controlled by foreign



The barracks of Mine No. 32. Rutchenkovo Mine Society, 1900

banks. Prodamet and Produgol, for example, were headed by French banks.

Apart from the penetration of foreign capital into Russian industries and banks, Russian dependence on foreign capital was increased by state loans. At the end of the 19th century the Russian Government made extensive use of foreign loans for railway and industrial construction and for armaments. In 1900, Russia's foreign debt stood at 3,966 million rubles, and by 1904 it had increased to 4,250 million rubles. At that time the greater part of the Russian loan bonds were held by France. Tsarism tried, with the aid of foreign loans and foreign capital, to get out of the deadlock caused by internal contradictions. But the flow of constantly growing sums abroad in the form of interest, dividends and founders' profits for foreign banks curtailed possibilities for capital investments within the country. While capital was being imported into Russia she herself was playing the role of an active, although not large-scale, exporter of capital to Persia, China, Manchuria, Mongolia and other backward countries. Russian capital invested abroad amounted to 150 million rubles. Russian finance capital, dependent on foreign capital, in this case, too, acted as the latter's junior partner. In the Russo-Chinese bank, for example, founded in 1895, the chief shareholders were French bankers who held over 62 per cent of the basic shares. Even in such big monopoly alliances as existed in the oil, tobacco and manganese industries, Russian industry was kept in a subordinate position although it accounted for a large share. At the time of Russia's entry into the epoch of imperialism the export of capital to the "internal" colonies and semi-colonies was greatly increased: capital was invested in Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, etc., for the purpose of converting them into raw material bases for the Russian manufacturing industries. At the beginning of the century Moscow banks held a dominant position in the market for the purchase and sale of Central Asian cotton; they handled 90 per cent of the trade. The intermediaries between the banks and the cotton-growers were the local feudal *bais*, on whose support tsarist administration depended. Russian capitalists and tsarism artificially preserved the most primitive forms of feudal oppression by the *bais*. With the active support of the tsarist officials and the local feudal aristocracy the Russian banks seized the land most suited to cotton-growing and ruined the local peasants. A similar policy of plunder was pursued by tsarism and the capi-

talist monopolies in respect of oil-bearing territories in the Transcaucasus. In this way the interests of Russian finance capital were intimately bound up with the interests of tsarism, and the "new," imperialist aims and methods were combined with the old, "military feudalism."

Lenin called tsarism a "military-feudal imperialism," in this way stressing the peculiarities of the political, legal and ideological forms and relationships obtaining in Russia under imperialist conditions. Owing to its weakness, imperialism in Russia could not freely export capital and in the struggle for the monopoly exploitation of the markets and raw material sources in the colonial outskirts and backward countries of Asia had to depend mainly on the armed forces of tsarism which was compelled to pay more and more attention to the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The preservation of vestiges of serfdom and the preponderance of foreign capital in Russian heavy industry had their strongest effect in the tendency to technical stagnation. Even in the comparatively advanced branches of the metallurgical industry in the south of Russia the great concentration of production was combined with the extensive employment of manual labour on arduous jobs. The capitalists, extracting huge profits from a minimum expenditure on mechanization, were as a rule not interested in extending production, the introduction of new machinery, rationalization of production and labour processes, and treated the achievements of Russian scientific and technical thought with disdain. Important discoveries and inventions were, in many cases, not used in practice. In a number of branches, however, foreign capital brought into Russian industry new organizational forms for large-scale production and to some extent, even, new machines, in this way striving to gain a dominant position in those particular branches.

The increased profits were to a great degree obtained by the systematic and ruthless curtailing and even by the direct cessation of production and not by means of technical progress. Prodamet and other metallurgical monopolies did not use all the production capacities of the enterprises in the syndicates, closed some of them down and curtailed the investment of capital for the extension and re-equipment of factories. The indiscriminate exploitation of the oilfields by the monopolies led to a drop in oil output. The highest level of oil output was reached in 1901 when 706.3 million poods were extracted but by 1913 the

figure had dropped to 561.3 million poods, a reduction of 20 per cent; in the first decade of the 20th century the price of oil increased sixfold. In technically and economically backward Russia the artificial reduction of output had particularly dire results—reduced rate of growth in industry, sky-rocketing prices, a reduction of commodities in circulation, reduced consumption, growing mass unemployment and the progressive impoverishment of the working people in town and village.

At the beginning of the 20th century Russia became a concentration of all the contradictions of imperialism in their sharpest form. In Russia, military-feudal oppression was intertwined with capitalist and national oppression; the oppression of the working people by the tsarist government, the landowners and bourgeoisie had added to it the plunder in which the Western imperialists engaged. The interests of a number of imperialist powers clashed in Russia. The Western imperialists, with the aid of tsarism, obtained hundreds of millions of rubles a year from the peoples of Russia in the form of dividends and interest on loans. The interests of Russian tsarism and those of the Western imperialists were closely interlocked. A revolution against tsarism, therefore, would serve to weaken the whole imperialist front. Under these circumstances the struggle of the Russian proletariat acquired international significance. At the turn of the century Russia became a base for the world revolutionary movement and revolutionary thought, the home of Leninism—Marxism in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

Brutal exploitation by capitalists and landowners combined with the wild arbitrariness of tsarism made the condition of the working masses intolerable and gave a particular sharpness to the profound social contradictions.

The exceptionally high concentration of production had its effect on the growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat and on its formation as the leader of the revolution. The industrial proletariat had its allies in the exploited proletarian and semi-proletarian sections of urban and rural population. There were 3,500,000 agricultural workers alone at the end of the 19th century. At the end of the 19th century Lenin estimated the total number of proletarians and semi-proletarians at 63,700,000, of whom 22 million belonged to the former category. Their close connection with the masses of the peasantry and the coinci-

dence of the interests of proletarians and peasants provided an objective basis for the alliance of these two classes in the course of revolutionary struggle, the leader being the working class, the most progressive class in society.

**Rise of the Revolutionary Movement, 1900-1904.
Formation of a Marxist Party in Russia (R.S.D.L.P.)**

For the Russian working class to be successful as the leader of the all-Russian revolutionary movement it was necessary to form a militant revolutionary party, equipped with the most progressive Marxist theory, a party capable of leading the masses of the people to the storm of imperialism and to the certain victory of the socialist revolution. Such was the party formed by Vladimir Lenin.

The embryo of the revolutionary proletarian party was the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class founded by Lenin in St. Petersburg in 1895.

The First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (R.S.D.L.P.) was held in Minsk in March 1898 but was unable to unite the separate Social-Democratic circles and groups into a single party. Many of the Social-Democratic circles were under the influence of "economists" who denied the necessity for a political struggle on the part of the working class and also its leading role in the formation of a centralized proletarian party. A decisive role in the defeat of the "economists" and in the unification of the disunited Social-Democratic circles into a militant proletarian party with a clear-cut Marxist programme, revolutionary tactics, unity of will and iron discipline, was played by the all-Russian political newspaper *Iskra* (*The Spark*) founded by Lenin jointly with the Emancipation of Labour group in 1900 and also by Lenin's book *What Is To Be Done?* (1902) and other writings of his.

At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (July-August 1903) a Marxist party of a new type was founded on the ideological and organizational basis that had been prepared by Lenin's *Iskra*. The Congress was attended by opponents of *Iskra*, opportunist elements that later became known as Mensheviks (members of the minority group). In a fierce struggle against them Lenin and his followers, the Bolsheviks (members of the majority group), succeeded in getting into the programme of the Party the most important Marxist principles of the dicta-



The house in Minsk in which the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.
was held

torship of the proletariat and revolutionary-democratic demands on the peasant question and defended the principle of internationalism in the structure of a Marxist party. The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. founded the Bolshevik Party armed with a genuinely revolutionary programme and was a turning-point in the history of the Russian and of the world working-class movement. In his *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* (May 1904) Lenin ideologically routed the Mensheviks and developed his theory of the Marxist party. Lenin's comrades-in-arms in his struggle against the Mensheviks for a Marxist party at that time and in the following years were the revolutionaries: I. V. Babushkin, N. E. Bauman, M. V. Frunze, S. I. Gusev, M. I. Kalinin, V. Z. Ketskhoveri, V. K. Kurnatovsky, M. M. Litvinov, M. S. Olminsky, G. K. Orjonikidze, G. I. Petrovsky, S. G. Shaumyan, S. S. Spandaryan, J. V. Stalin, Y. M. Sverdlov, Mikha Tskhakaya, A. G. Tsulukidze, D. I. Ulyanov, K. Y. Voroshilov, V. V. Vorovsky, R. S. Zemlyachka and others.

The Bolshevik Party took form under conditions of a growing revolutionary movement brought into being by the industrial crisis. Capital's offensive against the living standards of the

working class promoted both the development of the class consciousness of the workers and the growth of Social-Democratic influence. The workers, under the leadership of the Social-Democratic organizations adhering to the policy of Lenin's *Iskra*, went over from individual economic strikes, from the struggle against individual capitalists for the improvement of their conditions, to higher forms of the class struggle—to political strikes and street demonstrations that had as their slogan: "Down with the Tsarist Autocracy." In 1900 there was a May Day political demonstration in Kharkov in which 10,000 people took part. In 1901 there were May Day demonstrations in St. Petersburg, Tiflis, Warsaw, Lodz, Vilno, Kovno, Kazan and other cities. The strike at the Obukhov Factory in St. Petersburg in 1901 that ended in an armed clash with troops was of great significance; also important were the political demonstration in Batum and the general strike at Rostov-on-Don in 1902. In addition to increasing police repressions, tsarism also engaged in the practice of dallying with the working-class movement and in bribery. At the time of the rapid maturing of the revolutionary situation in the early years of the century the tsarist government tried to detract the attention of the workers from revolutionary struggle by setting up legal working-class organizations under the aegis of the secret police. This policy became known as "police socialism" or *Zubatovshchina*, so called after Colonel S. Zubatov of the gendarmerie who initiated the organizations. The wave of economic strikes that swept over Moscow at the beginning of 1902 showed the impotence of the Zubatov organizations to prevent the growth of the working-class movement. In 1903 the working-class movement reached a new and higher stage. From local, disunited strikes the workers, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, went over to general strikes that affected all the industrial centres of the Transcaucasus and the Ukraine. About 200,000 workers took part in a general strike in South Russia in 1903.

The peasants, following in the wake of the proletariat, began to take mass action against the landowners. In the five years from 1900 to 1904 there were 670 peasant disturbances in Russia. The biggest were in the spring of 1902 in Kharkov and Poltava gubernias where 60 landlords' estates were destroyed in the course of six days.

There were profound economic changes taking place in the non-Russian areas of Russia at the turn of the century. By the

early 20th century industries in Poland, the Baltic gubernias, Eastern Ukraine and Baku had surpassed those of the old industrial areas. In these places there were large contingents of Russian workers who had been through the school of revolutionary struggle as well as workers of local nationalities. On the Middle Volga, in the districts adjacent to the Urals, in the Caucasus (with the exception of Baku), Turkestan and Siberia industry was only just beginning to develop. The infiltration of capitalist relations into the economically backward areas of Central Asia and Kazakhstan drew them into the common system of Russian imperialism. At that period the development of capitalist relations in the non-Russian areas served to augment national and colonial oppression. The tsarist government ignored the specific national characteristics of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Turkmenian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijanian and other peoples inhabiting the country, forbade the use of the native language in the schools and government institutions and persecuted the national cultures. The working-class and peasant movements in the Ukraine, the Transcaucasus, Poland, the Baltic countries and Byelorussia developed in close contact with the all-Russian movement of the working class and the peasantry. The Russian workers formed Marxist revolutionary organizations and played the leading role in the revolutionary struggle in the outlying districts. The growing working-class movement aroused and consolidated all working people in the non-Russian outlying districts in the struggle for social and national liberation.

As the national-liberation movement spread it became necessary for the revolutionary Social-Democrats to have a clear-cut theoretical programme and policy on the national question and Lenin drew one up. It was based on the recognition of the full equality of nations, their right to self-determination and the principle of the international unity of proletarian struggle and the alliance of the workers of all nations within a single state in united proletarian organizations. By coming out in favour of unity of action of the working people the Bolsheviks were conducting a struggle on two fronts—against great power chauvinism and against local bourgeois nationalism.

The petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary Party (S.R.'s), a party that was opposed to Marxism-Leninism and did great damage to the revolutionary movement in Russia, was formed from the old Narodnik circles under the influence of the peasant

disturbances of 1902. The S.R.'s issued a newspaper *Revolutionary Russia* and a magazine *Herald of the Russian Revolution*, both of which were published abroad from 1900 to 1905. The S.R. leaders were G. Gershuni, A. Gotz, V. Chernov, and N. Avksentyev. The S.R.'s opposed the autocracy and favoured a democratic republic but they did not understand the social content of the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution. The S.R.'s denied the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they denied class contradictions and differentiation within the peasantry. The commune that gave the peasant his holding of land, deprived him of liberty of movement and determined his social status under tsarism was what the S.R.'s, following in the footsteps of the Narodniks, considered an embryonic form of socialism. Putting forward a Utopian programme for the socialization of the land the S.R.'s were against landed proprietorship and the private ownership of land in general and spread the dangerous illusion that the socialization of the land, i.e., its conversion into public property with an equal amount of land for each peasant family to use under the control of the commune, would relieve the peasant of exploitation and ruin.

The S.R.'s regarded individual terror as the chief means of struggle against the autocracy. This was a tactic that hampered the revolutionary initiative of the masses and compelled them to remain passive. The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. recognized the fact that the activities of the S.R.'s "were dangerous not only for the political development of the proletariat, but also for the common democratic struggle against the autocracy."

The growth of the revolutionary movement at the beginning of the 20th century gave rise to activity on the part of the opposition movement of the liberal bourgeoisie. In March 1902 a circle of rural officials founded the magazine *Emancipation (Osvobozhdeniye)* that was published abroad and edited by P. Struve. In January 1904 St. Petersburg supporters of the magazine formed the Union of Emancipation (*Soyuz osvobozhdeniya*). In November 1903 the Union of Rural Constitutionalists was formed to prepare the way for the rural assemblies to put forward their demand for a constitution. After the October general strike in 1905 these two unions formed the core of the main political party of the Russian bourgeoisie, the Constitutional-Democrats (known as "Cadets" from the Russian initial letters of their name).

Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).

First Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution in Russia (1905-1907)

The struggle of the Great Powers for mastery in the Pacific Ocean grew more acute at the turn of the century, Britain, the U.S.A., Germany, France, Russia and Japan being rivals in this field. According to the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) that followed China's defeat in the Japano-Chinese War (1894-1895), she had to hand over the Island of Taiwan (Formosa) and the Liaotung Peninsula together with Port Arthur to Japan. Russia, in alliance with France and Germany, forced Japan to abandon the idea of annexing the Liaotung Peninsula. By the Russo-Chinese Treaty signed in May 1896 the tsarist government obtained a concession to build a railway through Manchuria (the Chinese Eastern Railway); in March 1898 an agreement was concluded with China to rent Port Arthur with the right to build a naval base there.

Britain and the U.S.A., fearing the growing strength of Russia, helped Japan seize Korea and strengthen her positions in Manchuria in order to cause a clash between that country and Russia, the latter being their most dangerous rival in the Far East. Britain, France, Germany and Russia, taking advantage of the military weakness of feudal China, seized Chinese territory under pretext of "renting" it and built their bases there. This resulted in the I Ho Tuan (Boxer) rebellion in 1900 that was brutally suppressed by eight Great Powers, Russia among them. Tsarist troops occupied Manchuria. After concluding a treaty of alliance with Britain in 1902 the Japanese militarists set about preparing a war against Russia. The tsarist government, on their part, believed that a short, victorious war with Japan would strengthen their position and prevent the revolution that was maturing in Russia.

The Russo-Japanese War began with the treacherous attack made by Japanese destroyers on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur on January 27, 1904. Two Russian ironclads and a cruiser were damaged. The death in March 1904 of Admiral Makarov, commanding the Pacific Fleet, was a terrible loss to the defenders of Port Arthur. At the same time Japanese forces landed in Korea and, taking advantage of the passive, cowardly strategy of General Kuropatkin, commander of the Manchurian Army, developed offensive action against Port Arthur and the main Russian forces in Southern Manchuria. In April 1904 the Japa-

nese cut Port Arthur off from the Russian forces that were concentrated in the Liaoyang area. The defenders of Port Arthur were left to their own resources. The attempts made by the Port Arthur squadron to break through to Vladivostok (June 10 and July 28) were unsuccessful owing to the lack of determination on the part of the command. The Battle of Liaoyang lasted from August 17 to August 21 when the Japanese 2nd and 4th armies, supported by 390 guns, tried to turn the right flank of the Russian army. The offensive, however, was broken by the steadfastness of the Siberian infantry divisions. The Japanese 1st Army crossed the River Taichi to cut the Russian communications. Kuropatkin, afraid for the flanks of his army, withdrew to Mukden. The attempts by the Japanese to take Port Arthur in August 1904 by storm cost them tremendous losses but met with failure; the defenders repulsed all Japanese attacks and the latter were compelled to begin the methodical siege of the fortress. The heroic defence of Port Arthur occupied at least half the Japanese forces on the continent and gave the Russian armies an opportunity to go over to the offensive. The operation, however, was insufficiently prepared and met with no success. The battle on the River Sha, from September 22 to October 4, a counter-attack on the part of the Japanese, was undecisive.

The 2nd Pacific Squadron, under the command of Admiral Rozhdestvensky, left the Baltic in October to go to the relief of Port Arthur. The Japanese hurried to capture Port Arthur at any cost before the arrival of Rozhdestvensky's squadron in order to ensure superiority on the sea and transfer their army of 100,000 men to the Manchurian front for a decisive battle. On December 2, 1904, General Kondratenko, commander of the land forces, was killed; he had been the heart and soul of the defence after the death of Admiral Makarov. On December 20, 1904 (January 2, 1905), General Stessel, commander of the Kwantung Fortified Zone that included Port Arthur, signed an Act of Capitulation. The defence of Port Arthur exposed the treachery and ignorance of a number of tsarist generals. The Russian sailors, soldiers and the better officers who had for almost eight months defended the fortress under the most difficult conditions, on foreign territory and cut off by land and by sea, displayed heroism, nobility of spirit and self-sacrifice. The war had exposed the rottenness of the military organization and the whole state machinery of tsarist Russia, worsened the eco-

conomic position of the working people and, therefore, gave rise to profound discontent among the people.

An important role in unfolding the forces of the revolution was played by the general strike of Baku workers in December 1904 that resulted in their winning a 9-hour working day and the conclusion of the first collective agreement with the employers in the history of the Russian working-class movement.

Beginning of 1905 Revolution

The Russian Revolution, 1905-1907, was the first people's revolution in the epoch of imperialism. The Revolution was confronted with the task of overthrowing the absolute monarchy and destroying the remnants of feudalism that were present in all spheres of economic and social life and gave rise to the most brutal forms of capitalist exploitation of the proletariat, doomed the peasantry, who constituted the majority of the population of Russia, to constant need, ruin and poverty. The economic basis of all the remnants of feudalism was the system of landownership. The agrarian question, the struggle of the peasants to abolish the landlord system of land tenure, was, therefore, the main question posed by the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. Although the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 was objectively, by its content, a bourgeois-democratic revolution, it differed radically from the bourgeois revolutions that had occurred between the 17th and 19th centuries, revolutions that took place during the rise of capitalism when the bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class. The Revolution of 1905-1907 took place in the epoch of imperialism, the development of which is typified by the decay of the capitalist system and the sharpening of all social and political contradictions. The working class of Russia had, by the beginning of the 20th century, not only taken form as a class distinct from other strata of the population, but had also gained experience in the class struggle, built up its own Marxist Party and shown itself to be the most advanced and organized political force in the country. A specific feature of the 1905-1907 Revolution was the development of two social wars within the revolution. "In present-day Russia," wrote Lenin, "it is not two belligerent forces that give the revolution its content, but two different and unrelated social wars: one is contained within the present autocratic serfowning system and the other within the future bourgeois-demo-



Soldiers fire on the workers' demonstration at the Winter Palace,
January 9, 1905

cratic system that is being born before our eyes. One is the struggle of the entire people for liberty (for the liberty of bourgeois society), for democracy, i.e., for the autocracy of the people; the other is the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for the socialist organization of society." The bourgeoisie of Russia, scared by the wide scale of the working-class movement and linked by many ties to the reactionary landowners and to tsarism, were afraid of the development of the democratic revolution. The leading role in the revolution belonged to the proletariat, while the peasantry, instead of being the reserve of the bourgeoisie, became the reserve of the proletariat and its main ally.

The Revolution began with the events of January 9, 1905, in St. Petersburg, where a peaceful demonstration of workers and their families, headed by the priest Gapon, was shot down while on its way to present a petition on their needs to Tsar Nicholas II. More than 1,000 people were killed and several thousand wounded. The tsarist government hoped to drown the rising working-class movement in blood. Bloody Sunday,

however, destroyed the workers' naïve faith in the tsar. Even the most backward workers came to realize that freedom could only be won by revolution. The working class of Russia answered the bloodbath in St. Petersburg with mass political strikes and street demonstrations of protest. In January 1905 over 440,000 people struck work, that is, more than had taken part in strikes during a whole decade before the revolution (430,000). The metalworkers were the most active in the January strikes that linked up political and economic demands. Among the workers and all progressive people in the West there was a widespread movement of solidarity with the heroic proletariat of Russia following the massacre of January 9.

On February 6, 1905, the Battle of Mukden began with about 600,000 men taking part on the two sides. The Japanese plan to surround the Russian army failed because of the courage and steadfastness of the Russian soldiers. The main Russian forces withdrew to Tieling. The utter defeat of Rozhestvensky's squadron by the Japanese fleet took place in the Tsushima Strait on May 14 and 15, 1905. Appraising the strategic significance of the Tsushima defeat Lenin wrote: "The Russian fleet has been entirely destroyed. The war is irrevocably lost.... We are faced not only with a military defeat, but also with the military collapse of the autocracy."

The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was held in London in April 1905. The Mensheviks refused to take part and called their own conference in Geneva. The decisions of the Third Congress of the Party and the Menshevik Conference revealed the full depth of the differences in tactics and theory between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The Third Congress of the Party stated that, although the revolution then under way was bourgeois-democratic in character, it was first and foremost the proletariat that was interested in a complete victory, since the victory of the revolution would give the proletariat an opportunity to organize, develop politically and continue towards the socialist revolution. An alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the former was absolutely essential for the victory of the revolution and had to be accompanied by the alienation of the liberal royalist bourgeoisie. The Congress found that the main task of the Party and the working class was the transition from mass political strikes to an armed insurrection and stressed the necessity for the organization and technical preparation of the

uprising. The decisions on tactics adopted by the Mensheviks denied the hegemony of the proletariat and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The Menshevik postulates assumed the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie in the revolution and petty reforms instead of revolutionary action. This was a tactic calculated to wind up the revolution. In his *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (1905) Lenin gave a theoretical basis to the decisions of the Third Congress and to the strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks in the revolution; he exposed the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks and gave Russian Marxists a clear perspective of the way in which the bourgeois-democratic revolution could grow into a socialist revolution.

The revolutionary movement grew in strength in the spring and summer of 1905. On May 1 there were strikes and workers' demonstrations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw and other cities. An armed uprising broke out in Lodz in June 1905 and for three days the workers fought heroically on the barricades against tsarist troops. The summer strike of the 70,000 textile workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk that lasted 72 days (May 12 to July 23) played an important part in revolutionizing the country's working people. A Soviet of Representatives was set up during this strike which was actually one of the first Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

The peasant movement developed under the direct influence of the revolutionary working-class movement (see Table 3).

Table 3

WORKING-CLASS AND PEASANT MOVEMENT, 1905-1907

	1905	1906	1907
No. of workers participating in strikes (thousands)	2,863	1,108	740
No. of peasant disturbances	3,228	2,600	1,337

As early as February 1905 peasants took mass action against the landlords in Kursk, Orel, Chernigov, Voronezh, Saratov and Tiflis gubernias. In March there were strikes of farm workers in the Baltic area. In the spring and summer of 1905 the movement spread to the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Middle Volga. On their own initiative peasants cut wood in forests belonging



Dispersing Strikers, 1905. Painting by I. Vladimirov

to landowners and to the government, demanded a reduction in high rents and fewer services for land rented; they seized the landowners' land, burnt and destroyed their estates and refused to pay taxes. Between January and September 1905 the number of registered peasant actions amounted to 1,638. The progress made by the peasant revolutionary movement led to the organization in the summer of 1905 of the first mass political organization of the peasantry—the All-Russian Peasant Union.

A number of revolts took place in the army and navy. In June there was a revolt on the cruiser *Potemkin* of the Black Sea Fleet. Despite all its weaknesses and shortcomings the revolt on the *Potemkin* was of great historical importance: the first big unit of the armed forces of tsarism—a cruiser—had gone over openly to the side of the revolution. The tsarist government, scared by the mass character of the revolutionary acts, tried all sorts of manoeuvres. On August 6, a manifesto was issued proclaiming the institution of a consultative State Duma, afterwards known as the Bulygin Duma. The government hoped to weaken revolutionary tension by convening the Duma. The Bolsheviks boycotted the Duma, believing that at a moment when the revolution was gaining momentum partici-

pation in the Duma would detract the attention of the masses from the main task, from direct pressure on the autocracy. The Bulygin Duma was never convened, it was, as Lenin said, swept away by the whirlwind of the revolution.

On August 23 (September 5), 1905, Russia concluded the Portsmouth Treaty with Japan by which Southern Sakhalin, Port Arthur and the railway from Port Arthur to Changchun went to Japan, and Korea was recognized as a sphere of Japanese influence. Tsarist Russia suffered defeat in the war owing to her economic and military backwardness. The military defeat only served to increase the hatred of the people for the tsarist regime.

**The Period of Revolutionary Upsurge.
The All-Russian General Strike in October.
The December Armed Insurrection (1905)**

By the autumn of 1905 the revolutionary movement embraced the whole country. On October 7 in Moscow the strike of the Kazan Railway workers began and then spread to the entire railway network throughout the country. The example of the railwaymen was followed by industrial workers, commercial, postal and telegraph workers and others. The number of participants in the October general strike exceeded 2,000,000. The central slogan of the strike was the overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment of a democratic republic. Under pressure of the revolutionary masses the tsarist government issued a manifesto on October 17, hypocritically promising political liberties and the convention of a legislative State Duma. The proletariat won for itself and the whole people, even if only for a short time, something never before known in Russia—freedom of speech, the press and trade unions.

At the time the manifesto was issued a new President of the Council of Ministers was appointed—S. Witte, who passed for a liberal. The Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, warned the people that tsarism was trying to gain time in order to regroup its forces. The tsarist government began the formation of the Black-Hundred organizations to deal with the revolutionary movement; the Black Hundreds carried out pogroms, arrests, handled revolutionaries brutally and killed them.

The liberal bourgeoisie and the Mensheviks tried to divert the revolutionary movement into purely parliamentary channels, but the Bolsheviks spread the idea of an armed uprising

and made energetic preparations for it. The Bolsheviks organized contingents of workers' militia, armed and trained them. After October 17 the revolutionary movement gained fresh impetus. The people themselves set up mass political organizations such as were hitherto unknown—the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. On October 13 the first meeting of the St. Petersburg Soviet took place. Between October and December 1905 Soviets were set up in Moscow, Kiev, Rostov-on-Don, Odessa, Nikolayev, Baku, Smolensk, Samara, Kostroma, Tver, Saratov, Novorossiisk, Taganrog, Yekaterinoslav, Sevastopol, Krasnoyarsk, Chita and other towns. The Soviets began as the guiding bodies of the strike movement but during the course of the revolution they became embryonic organs of the power of the people and in a number of towns (Moscow, Chita, Novorossiisk and others) they were the guiding bodies of the armed insurrection. Lenin regarded the Soviets as bodies destined to play the leading role in preparing and guiding an armed insurrection of the whole people. The parties of conciliation tried to turn them into bodies defending the purely labour interests of the workers, settling conflicts between capitalists and their employees; they denied the role of the Soviets as organs of revolutionary power and protested against their conversion into organs of armed insurrection. The St. Petersburg Soviet, at that time under the influence of the Mensheviks, gave the workers' militia the task of self-defence only and did not engage in the organizational and technical preparation of an armed insurrection. In St. Petersburg and many other towns the freedom of the press was gained by revolutionary means at this time. The St. Petersburg, Moscow and a number of other Soviets issued their own newspaper—*Izvestia*. The first legal Bolshevik daily paper, *New Life* (*Novaya zhizn*), was published from October 27 in St. Petersburg. The Bolshevik organizations were then in a state of semi-legality. The trade unions experienced a tempestuous growth in numbers.

In November, V. I. Lenin returned from exile. He guided the activities of the Bolshevik Party in the leadership of the masses and the preparation of an armed insurrection.

Lenin considered the extension and strengthening of the mass basis of the revolution and the inclusion of the rural areas as far as possible to be of the utmost importance. Under the influence of the revolutionary acts of the working class the struggle of the peasantry against the landowners took on a sharper



Funeral of revolutionaries killed at Sevastopol, October 1905

form and involved growing masses of people. Between October and December 1905 the number of peasant actions registered amounted to 1,590. They were actions on the largest scale in those areas where the big landed estates predominated (Central-Black-Earth regions, Transcaucasus) and in areas where capitalist methods of agriculture had been developed (Baltic region and Western Ukraine). This movement included actions taken against the landowners (75.4 per cent of all peasant actions from 1905 to 1907), clashes with the authorities, police and military (14.5 per cent) and acts directed against the kulaks (1.4 per cent). Peasants who went annually to the towns as seasonal workers, soldiers, sailors and industrial workers exiled to the rural areas for participation in strikes were the instigators and leaders of the peasant disturbances. They passed on to the peasants the experience gained by town workers in the revolutionary struggle. In some areas revolutionary peasant committees were set up; they seized power in the countryside and in a few cases Soviets of Peasant Deputies were established. In addition to bloody repressions the tsarist authorities tried to stem the wave of the peasant movement by lying promises and petty concessions. The tsar's manifesto

issued on November 3, 1905, announced the reduction of repayment sums for land by one half on January 1, 1906, and its complete abolition on January 1, 1907. That same day the Senate was instructed to establish more advantageous terms for the granting of loans for the purchase of land by the Peasant Land Bank.

The revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants began to have greater effect on the tsarist army and navy. There were disturbances and revolts among soldiers and sailors at Kronstadt, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Kharkov, Baku, Ashkhabad, Vladivostok, Tashkent, etc. The biggest was the revolt of soldiers and sailors in Sevastopol on November 11-15, 1905. As these revolts were disunited they were suppressed by troops that remained loyal to the tsar.

The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. put forward the slogan of the establishment of an 8-hour working day by the workers themselves as a tactical measure calculated to unleash the revolutionary initiative of the masses and bring them close to an armed uprising. This slogan was taken up by the working-class masses of St. Petersburg in October 1905. On October 29, the St. Petersburg Soviet passed a decision to establish the 8-hour working day in all factories from October 31. On November 1, the St. Petersburg Soviet called on the workers to launch a new political strike under the slogan of struggle against martial law in Poland and against the courts martial trying revolutionary soldiers and sailors in Kronstadt. The strike began next day and affected 526 industrial establishments with 120,000 workers. In 1905 political and economic strikes mutually supported each other. At the beginning of the revolution economic strikes were noticeably dominant over political strikes. In the last quarter of 1905, in the period when the revolutionary struggle had reached its highest level, political strikes predominated (see Table 4).

The mass economic and political strikes of the workers were interspersed with actions taken by peasants, soldiers and sailors and grew into an armed uprising against tsarism that affected the entire people.

Under these circumstances the reactionary forces also became more active. By mass lockouts the capitalists tried to provoke the workers to premature, unprepared action. At the same time the tsarist government systematically curtailed and infringed the political liberties that had been won in October 1905. Dur-

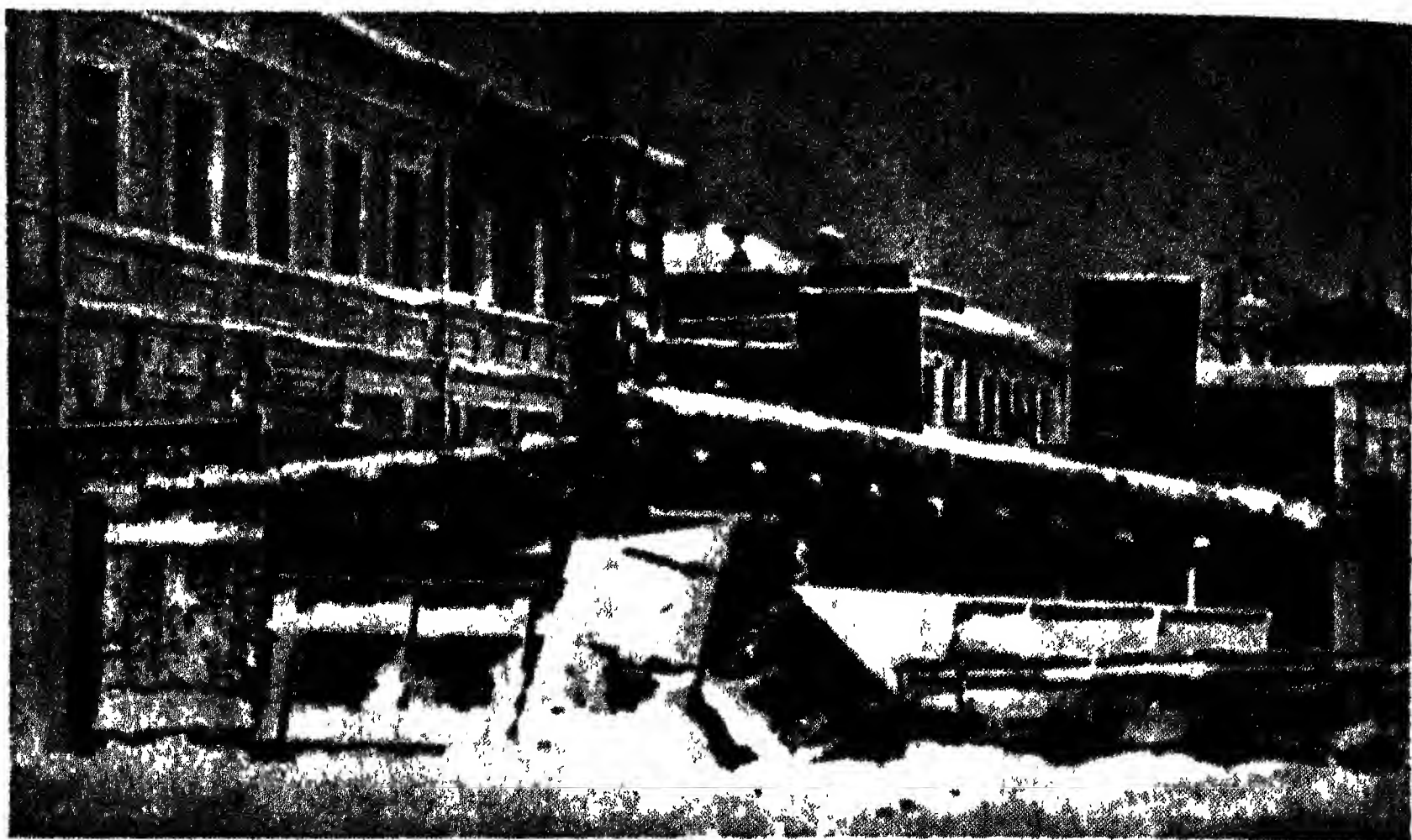
Table 4

**STRIKE MOVEMENT AT INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES UNDER
THE SUPERVISION OF FACTORY INSPECTORS (1895-1917)**

Years	Economic strikes		Political strikes		Total	
	Number of strikes	Number of strikers (thous.)	Number of strikes	Number of strikers (thous.)	Number of strikes	Number of strikers (thous.)
1895-1904	1,596	399	169	32	1,765	431
1905	5,780	1,439	8,209	1,424	13,955	2,863
1906	2,545	458	3,569	650	6,114	1,108
1907	973	200	2,600	510	3,573	740
1908	428	83	464	93	892	176
1909	280	56	50	8	340	64
1910	214	43	8	3	222	46
1911	442	97	24	8	466	105
1912	732	175	1,300	550	2,032	725
1913	1,370	385	1,034	502	2,404	887
1914 (Jan.-July)	1,560	414	2,538	1,035	4,098	1,449
1914*(Aug.-Dec.)	61	32	7	3	68	35
1915*	715	384	213	156	928	540
1916*	1,167	776	243	310	1,410	1,086
1917 (Jan.-Feb.)					1,330	676

novo, Minister of Home Affairs, prohibited the Union of Postal and Telegraph Workers. In response to this arbitrary act a congress of postal and telegraph workers responded by declaring an all-Russian strike on November 15. On November 24, 1905, the Provisional Regulations for Periodical Publications were published, placing the press under the strict control of the government. Mass arrests of trade-union leaders, delegates to peasant congresses, members of strike committees and Soviet deputies were carried out. On December 2, 1905, a new strike law was published threatening imprisonment for participation in strikes at enterprises of public or state importance. In response to this the Central Committee and Organizational Commission of the R.S.D.L.P., the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies and other organizations published a manifesto on December 2 calling on the population to effect a financial boycott of the tsarist government. Eight democratic newspapers in St.

* Excluding the Warsaw area.



Barricades at the corner of Sadovaya and Dolgorukovskaya streets in Moscow, December 1905

Petersburg that published the manifesto in full were closed down that same day, and on December 3, 267 members of the St. Petersburg Soviet were arrested. In open civil war the tsarist government acted jointly with the big bourgeoisie who, after October 17, 1905, had gone over entirely to the side of tsarism in the struggle against the revolution. In October and November 1905 the two main bourgeois parties were formed—the Constitutional-Democratic Party (Cadets), which included part of the liberal landowners, representatives of the middle urban bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia, and the Octobrist Party (Union of October 17), which united the bigger bourgeoisie and the big, already bourgeois, landowners.

The peak of the First Russian Revolution was reached by the armed insurrection in Moscow and other industrial centres in December 1905. On December 6 the Moscow Soviet accepted the proposal of the Bolsheviks to issue a manifesto calling for a general political strike on December 7 which was to develop into an armed insurrection. The first day of the insurrection affected about 400 enterprises with a total of 100,000 workers. On December 9, the armed struggle on the barricades began between Moscow workers and tsarist troops. The most stubborn struggle took place in the Presnya, Zamoskvorechye and Rogozhsko-Simonovsky districts. The workers in revolt, however, had an

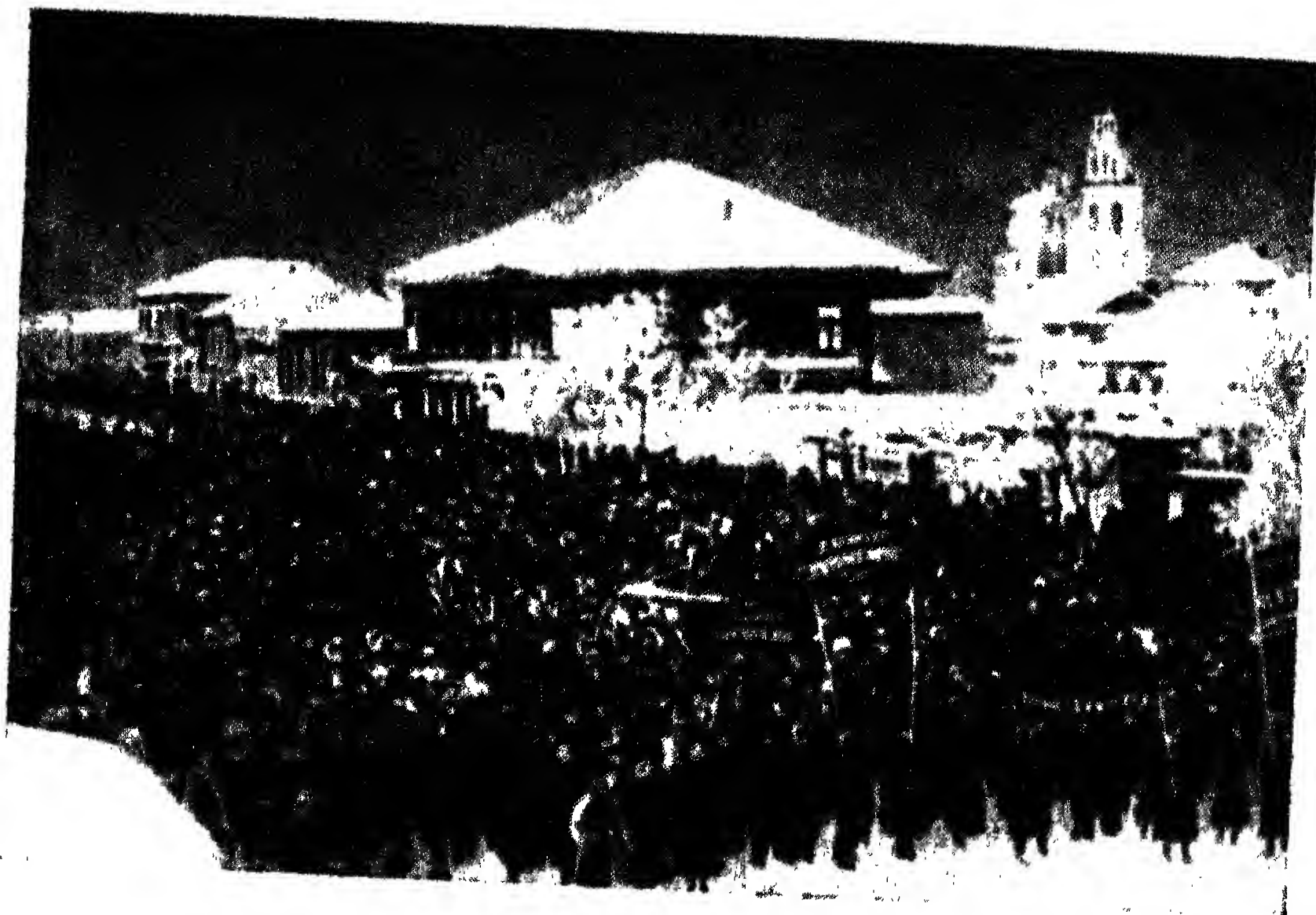
insufficient supply of arms. The Moscow Bolsheviks considered that the chief hope of success in the insurrection lay in the defection to the side of the workers of soldiers of the Moscow garrison, where there had been serious disturbances in the first days of the insurrection. In their efforts to win over the wavering soldiers the revolutionaries did not display sufficient determination. The fact that there was no general plan of struggle and no single leadership of the uprising owing to the arrest, on the night of December 7, of the members of the Moscow Bolshevik Committee, had an unfavourable effect on the course of the uprising. The chief mistake of the insurrectionists was that they confined themselves to defensive instead of offensive action. The Moscow uprising showed that without a determined struggle to win over the army the success of the revolution was impossible. Tsarist troops, brought from St. Petersburg, on December 17 surrounded Presnya and subjected the district to artillery bombardment. The forces of the Presnya workers' militia were insufficient and on December 18 it was decided to cease the struggle. Despite their defeat the Moscow workers retained their fighting spirit and were confident that the time was not far ahead when there would be another decisive battle against tsarism. Lenin said that the proletariat had been thrown back but had not let the great banner of the revolution fall from their hands. There were armed uprisings of the workers in the Urals (Motovilikha), in Sormovo, in Siberia (Krasnoyarsk) and



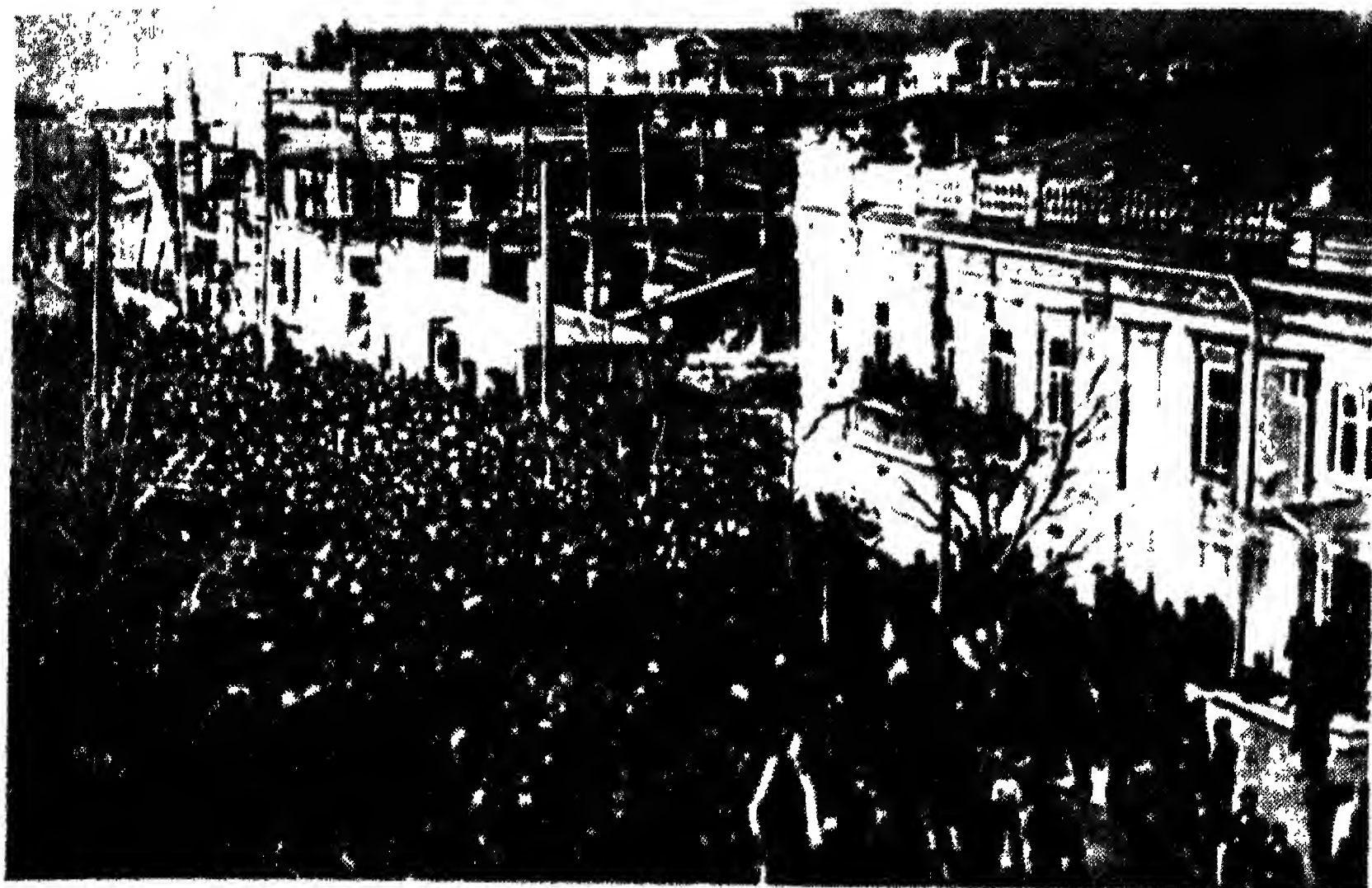
Revolutionary demonstration on the Neva embankment in St. Petersburg, October 1905



Guns firing on Presnya during the Moscow December armed uprising,
1905



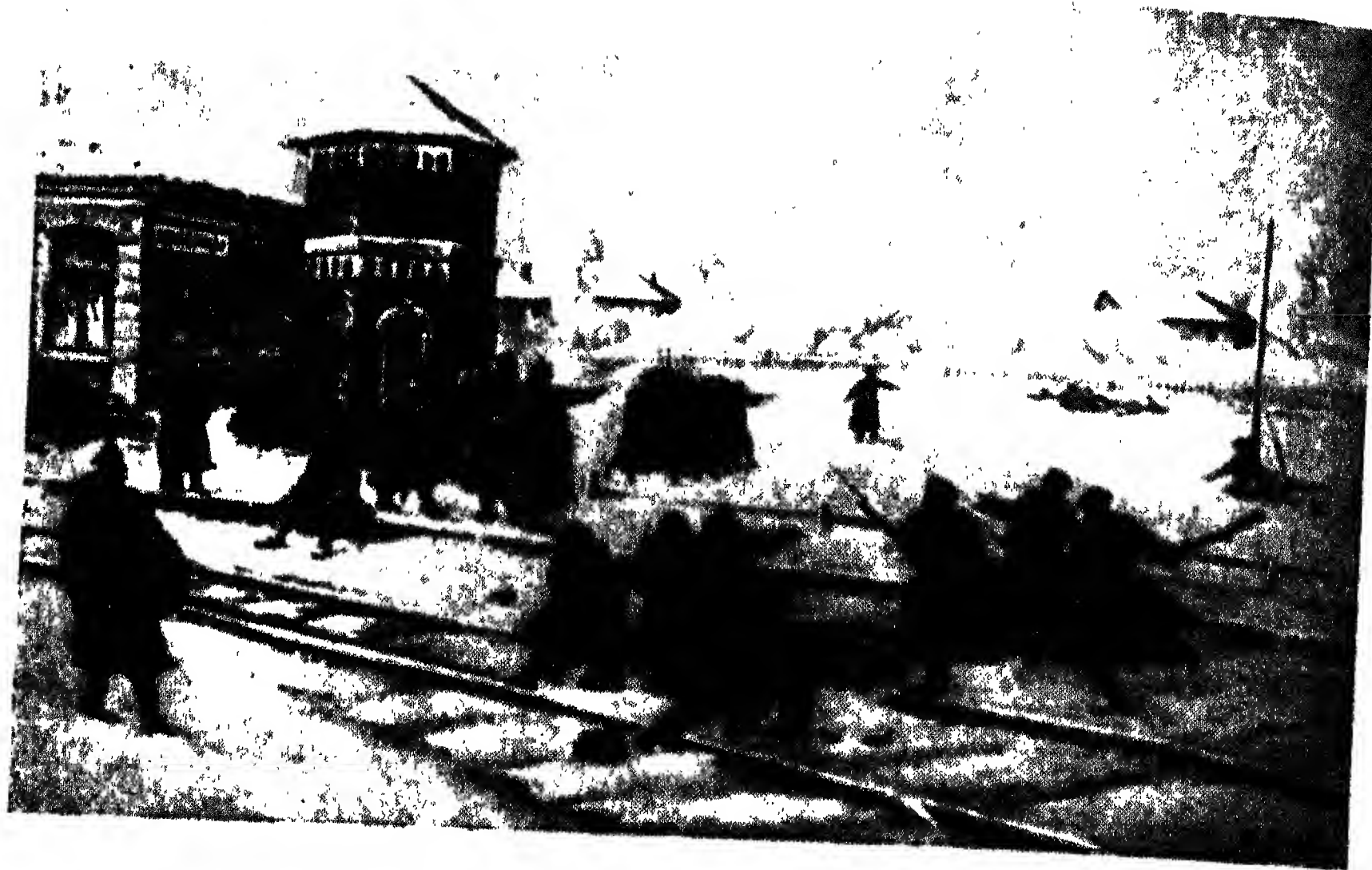
Armed demonstration of workers and soldiers at Krasnoyarsk,
December 1905



Armed demonstration in Novorossiisk, December 1905

in the Far East (Chita, Vladivostok), in Sochi, Tuapse, Novorossiisk, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Alexandrovsk, Gorlovka and Rostov-on-Don. The working people of Georgia, the Baltic region, Poland and Finland also took up arms against tsarism in December 1905. All of these uprisings, however, were poorly organized, did not take place simultaneously and were not interconnected; the workers' militia contingents were numerically weak, poorly armed and adopted defensive tactics. The insurgents were unable to bring the wavering troops over to their side. The Mensheviks and S.R.'s who seized the leadership of some of the Soviets and strike committees hindered the preparation and leadership of the armed uprising by their opportunist tactics. This was a circumstance that helped the tsarist authorities suppress the workers' insurrections in Moscow and other towns.

The Revolution of 1905-1907 brought about the political awakening of the oppressed nationalities of Russia. Under the influence of the struggle of the Russian proletariat the national-liberation movement spread over the distant non-Russian regions where the workers and peasants, in addition to the all-Russian revolutionary slogans, put forward their own demands for the abrogation of all laws hindering the development of the



The Semyonovsky Regiment's punitive expedition at Lyubertsy Station, near Moscow, December 1905. From the painting by V. Leshchinsky

native languages and cultures. The demand for the use of the native language in schools, courts and government institutions was common to all non-Russian nationalities. National oppression was somewhat slackened as a result of the Revolution of 1905-1907.

Contrary to the wishes of the bourgeois nationalists the national-liberation movement merged with the class struggle against the landlords and capitalists. The strikes and demonstrations in January 1905 showed the high level of class consciousness among workers in the Ukraine, the Baltic region, Poland, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasus, and their fraternal solidarity with the Russian working class. The proletariat of the outlying non-Russian regions played an active part in the October political general strike. The international unity and the friendship of the Russian and other peoples were strengthened in the fires of revolution.

Recession of the Revolution (1906-1907)

The gradual recession of the revolution and the strengthening of reaction began after the defeat of the December uprising. The workers and revolutionary peasants fought stubborn rear-

guard actions with tsarism as they retreated. Fresh groups of workers were drawn into the struggle. The peasant movement was given a further impetus in the spring and summer of 1906 although it did not achieve the level of 1905 (see Table 3). Disorders in the army and navy continued.

In their struggle against tsarism the workers demanded the unity of the Party. Under pressure from the workers the Mensheviks accepted the proposal of the Bolsheviks to call a Unity Congress. At the Fourth Congress, held in Stockholm in April 1906, however, the unity achieved was purely formal. After the Congress the struggle between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks broke out again with fresh strength. At the Fourth Congress Lenin defended the programme of the confiscation of all landed estates without compensation and, if conditions were especially favourable, the nationalization of all the land in the country. This programme expressed correctly the democratic demands of the peasantry. At the Fourth Congress the Mensheviks put forward the conciliatory programme of the municipalization of the land which required the confiscation of big landed properties only and the retention of the peasant small holdings.

The tsarist government, faced with incessant revolutionary acts, not only increased police repressions, but also tried to distract the masses from the revolution by means of the State Duma. An undemocratic election law was published on December 11, 1905, that ensured a preponderance of bourgeoisie and landowners in the Duma. The elections to the First Duma were held in February and March 1906 under conditions of police repression. The Bolsheviks, reckoning on a further revolutionary upsurge, announced an active boycott of the elections. Among the workers, especially in St. Petersburg, Poland and the Baltic region, the boycott was successfully carried out. The peasants, however, did not support the boycott campaign. The Cadets gained a majority in the elections (see Table 5). Before the opening of the Duma Witte was dismissed (April 22). I. Goremykin, an open reactionary, was appointed President of the Council of Ministers. The agrarian question occupied the centre of attention in the Duma. The draft land reform proposed by the Cadets provided for the alienation by purchase of only those lands from the big estates that were sharecropped by the peasants or were rented by them. The peasant deputies, who formed the labour group in the Duma, put forward a draft land

reform that envisaged the nationalization of all landed estates over and above the amount required for personal use; it rejected the purchase system and provided for the allotment of land to peasants to be made by local committees elected by universal ballot.

After the conclusion of the discussion on the agrarian question the Duma, on the insistence of the peasant deputies, appointed a special commission to draft a land law based on the compulsory alienation of land from the landowners. In response to this decision the tsarist government announced that they would not permit compulsory alienation and on July 8, 1906, the Duma was dispersed. Stolypin was appointed President of the Council of Ministers, police repressions were increased, and after the Sveaborg revolt and the revolt of the soldiers and sailors in Kronstadt had been suppressed in July 1906 the tsarist government introduced field courts martial to deal with the revolutionary movement. In order to gain the support of the kulaks in the rural areas the government issued an edict enabling peasants to leave the villages and settle on isolated farms and providing for the registration of the peasant small holdings as their private property.

The elections to the Second Duma took place when the revolution was on the wane. Under the new conditions the Bolsheviks thought it advisable to participate in the elections to the Duma where they would have an opportunity of exposing the autocracy and the treacherous role played by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The conciliatory nature of the political line adopted by the Mensheviks was clearly demonstrated at the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in London (April 30-May 19, 1907) at which they defended their tactics of conciliation with the Cadets in the Duma. Bolshevik participation in the elections, the large number of peasants that left the Cadets—all this, in spite of the government terror, served to make the Second Duma more left than the First Duma (see Table 5). The Second Duma, convened on February 20, 1907, like the First, had to deal mainly with the agrarian question. Speeches by peasant deputies showed that the peasants, in the mass, were opposed to the Stolypin agrarian laws. This determined the fate of the Duma. The tsarist government, however, did not dare disperse the Duma on the agrarian question. As an excuse to justify the dispersal of the Second Duma the secret police (*okhranka*) manufactured a "military conspiracy" alleged to have been engineered

Table 5

COMPOSITION OF THE DUMA BY PARTIES

Parties	1st Duma	2nd Duma	3rd Duma		4th Duma	
			1st session	5th session	1st session	4th session
Rights (Monarchists, Octobrists, Moderate Progressive and Commercial and Industrial parties) . . .	44	—	—	—	—	—
Group of the Rights	—	10	49	52	64	52
Moderate Rights	—	—	69	—	88	—
Russian National Group	—	—	26	77	—	57
Party of the Centre	—	—	—	—	32	34
Group of National Progressives . .	—	—	—	—	—	28
Group of Independent Nationalists .	—	—	—	16	—	—
Octobrists	—	42	—	11	—	—
Group of Octobrist Landowners . .	—	—	—	—	—	60
Group of the Union of Oct. 17th .	—	—	148	122	99	22
Autonomists (Polish <i>Kolo</i> [Circle], Lithuanian Circle, Ukrainian Democrats, Latvian Democrats, Moslems)	44	—	—	—	—	—
Polish-Lithuanian-Byelorussian Group	—	—	7	6	6	6
Polish <i>Kolo</i> (Circle)	—	46	11	11	9	6
Group of Progressists	—	—	25	39	47	44
Moslem Group	—	30	8	9	6	6
Party of Democratic Reforms . .	6	1	—	—	—	—
Popular Liberty Group (Cadets) . .	179	98	53	53	58	54
Labour Group	94	104	14	14	10	9
Popular Socialists	—	16	—	—	—	—
Socialist-Revolutionaries	—	37	—	—	—	—
Social-Democratic Group	18	65	20 ¹	14	14 ²	7
Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party Group (Bolsheviks)	—	—	—	—	—	5 ³
Cossack Group	1	17	—	—	—	—
Non-Party	100	50	16	16	5	24
Independents	—	—	—	—	—	14
Total	486	516	446	440	438	428

¹ 18 Social-Democrats and 2 sympathizers — 5 Bolsheviks and 2 supporters and 11 Mensheviks.

² 6 Bolsheviks and 7 Mensheviks with a deputy from Polish workers supporting the Mensheviks but without a vote.

³ At the 4th Session R. Malinovsky left the Bolshevik Group.

by the Social-Democratic group against the existing order; the Duma was dispersed on June 3, 1907, and the Social-Democratic group in the Duma placed under arrest. At the same time a new election law was made public; this new law reduced still further the representation of workers and peasants in the Duma. A period of brutal terror had set in, a period that became known as the Stolypin reaction (1907-1910).

The First Russian Revolution fully confirmed the correctness of the strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks. "The defeat of the revolution," said Lenin, "did not reveal the incorrectness of the tasks, the Utopian nature of immediate aims or mistaken ways and means—it revealed insufficiently prepared forces and insufficient depth and breadth of the revolutionary crisis."

The chief cause of the defeat of the 1905-1907 Revolution was the failure to unite the actions of the chief motive forces of the revolution—workers, peasants and soldiers—into a single revolutionary stream. The alliance of the workers and peasants was still unstable. The workers were not yet sufficiently united in their actions, they were not sufficiently aggressive and some contingents of workers joined the fight too late, at a time when the vanguard of the working class had already been bled white. The peasants were disunited and acted spontaneously and unorganized, considerable masses being under the influence of the S.R.'s. Large sections of the peasantry fought against the landowners but did not dare go against the tsar, believing that they would receive land from his hands. This explained the behaviour of the army that consisted mainly of peasants. The army and navy, individual revolts notwithstanding, did not, on the whole, go over to the side of the insurrectionists and remained a reliable bulwark of tsarism in the struggle against the revolution. There was not the necessary unity in the ranks of the R.S.D.L.P. At a time when the Bolsheviks were pursuing a consistently revolutionary line the Mensheviks with their conciliatory policy hindered the development of the revolution, split the working class, opposed the participation of the peasants in the revolutionary struggle and weakened the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. Foreign imperialists, who feared the spread of the revolution to the West, helped tsarism suppress the revolution. In 1906 French banks granted tsarism a loan of 843 million rubles. The conclusion of the Portsmouth Treaty with Japan in 1905 also served to strengthen tsarism.

Despite its defeat the First Russian Revolution had an extra-

ordinary effect on the entire further development of Russia. In the course of three years of revolution the working class and the peasantry had passed through a political school without equal in history. The revolution shook tsarism to the foundations and destroyed the myth of its "supraclass" nature. The revolution also exposed the counter-revolutionary nature of the liberal bourgeoisie and undermined their influence with the peasantry. The proletariat was the guiding force in the revolution. The peasant masses, their disunity notwithstanding, showed that they were capable of fighting under the leadership of the working class and of being its loyal ally. The alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, still spontaneous, still formless, was typical of all the bigger events of the 1905-1907 Revolution. During the revolution the foundation of the united revolutionary front of all the oppressed peoples of Russia, headed by the heroic Russian proletariat, was laid down. The revolution strengthened the role of the proletariat as the foremost social force that had taken the lead in the common democratic movement. It showed that only the working class can lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism. The Revolution of 1905-1907 showed the tremendous importance of mass political strikes as a means of drawing broad sections of the peasantry into the revolutionary struggle and preparing a revolt of the entire people against tsarism. The Russian revolution proved the falseness of the theories propounded by the opportunists of the Second International that the days of insurrection and barricade fighting are over. Street-fighting experience in Moscow showed that the armed insurrection would play a decisive role in future revolutions if a considerable section of the army were to go over to the side of the insurrectionary people at the decisive moment. During the revolutionary struggle of 1905 the Russian working class set up Soviets; these constituted a new revolutionary power in embryonic form. The Revolution of 1905-1907 provided the masses with rich political experience that facilitated their further struggle for liberation. It played an important part in preparing the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Without the dress rehearsal of 1905," wrote Lenin, "the victory of the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible."

The 1905-1907 Revolution had great international significance. It showed that Russia had become the centre of the world revolutionary movement. The Russian revolution had raised the

world proletarian movement to a higher level. The revolutionary events in Russia aroused hundreds of millions of people in the colonial and dependent countries. In Persia (1905-1911), in Turkey (1908) and in China (1911) there were bourgeois-democratic revolutions; a revolutionary upsurge began in India (1905-1908) and in Indonesia (1908-1913).

Russia During the Stolypin Reaction (1907-1910). Stolypin's Agrarian Policy

After the defeat of the Revolution of 1905-1907 the autocracy made an attempt to adapt itself to the bourgeois development of the country by means of a new agrarian policy and the creation of a political bloc of landowners and bourgeoisie in the Third State Duma. The reactionary election law of June 3, 1907, gave tsarism the State Duma composed of Black Hundreds and Cadets that it required (see Table 5). The Third Duma fully supported Stolypin's policy of terror, adopted a "great power" policy in respect of national minorities and sanctioned loans on extortionate terms that were earmarked for the suppression of the revolution and for armaments.

The greatest persecution during the years of the Stolypin reaction was suffered by the Bolshevik Party that again went underground. Legal working-class organizations also suffered greatly. The strike movement declined on account of the repressions (see Table 4). The percentage of political strikers dropped to 8 in 1910 instead of the 50 per cent recorded in 1905.

The victory of the counter-revolution led to the disintegration of the petty-bourgeois parties, the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s. The Menshevik-Liquidators wanted to disband the illegal organization of the R.S.D.L.P. and substitute for it a reformist party whose activities would be purely legal. The ideological campaign against the revolution was headed by the Cadets. In 1909 a group of Cadet journalists issued a symposium called *Milestones (Vekhi)* directed against revolutionary Marxism and preaching mysticism and obscurantism. Lenin branded the symposium as an encyclopaedia of liberal renegade ideas, as a solid stream of reactionary dish-water poured down on democracy. The offensive of the counter-revolution found its expression in literature, too. The preachings of the so-called "god-seekers" and "god-makers" (*bogoiskateli i bogostroiteli*) were widely spread among the bourgeois intelligentsia who had been disap-

pointed by the revolution. Maxim Gorky and other progressive writers carried on a struggle against reaction in literature. In his novel *Mother* (1906) Gorky created the figure of a worker-revolutionary, the first of its kind in fictional writing, and showed the leading role of the Bolsheviks in the revolution.

Under the difficult conditions of the reaction only the Bolsheviks remained true to the principles of Marxism and exposed all the attempts of the revisionists, the Machists and other enemies of the proletariat to undermine and discredit Marxism. In his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (1908, published in 1909) Lenin defeated ideologically the Machists and other philosophizing obscurantists and defended and developed the theoretical basis of the Marxist Party—dialectical and historical materialism. In this book Lenin provided a materialist generalization of the most significant achievements of science, especially of natural science, since the death of Engels.

During the years of reaction the Bolsheviks ably combined illegal work with work in legal organizations. They made use of the Duma rostrum to expose the anti-popular policy of the tsarist government and the false democracy of the Cadets and for winning the peasantry over to the side of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks exerted their influence over the working-class groups of legal all-Russian congresses—congresses of people's universities, women, factory doctors and others that took place between 1908 and 1911.

Russian industry remained in a state of deep depression bordering on crisis until 1909. The heavy industries were in a particularly bad state owing to the considerable reduction of army orders and of railway construction. The smelting of iron, 176.8 million poods in 1900, dropped to 171 million in 1908 and the extraction of oil dropped from 632 million to 529 million poods. The chief cause of this long depression in industry was the rule of the landowners and the autocracy with vestiges of serfdom in the countryside and limited home market. The capitalists made use of industrial depression and mass unemployment to launch an offensive against the working class: they organized lockouts, forbade any sort of representation of the workers, drew up black lists, lengthened the working day and lowered rates of pay that had been raised in 1905 as a result of working-class struggle.

In their efforts to find social support in the rural areas among the kulaks the tsarist government pursued an agrarian policy

that, objectively, amounted to an attempt to ensure the development of capitalism in agriculture by the so-called "Prussian method." Stolypin's agrarian legislation (the edict of November 9, 1906, the law of June 14, 1910, and others) aimed at the forcible destruction of the commune in favour of the kulaks and the institution of private land tenure in the form of isolated farms and lands alienated from the village commune. In the course of 10 years (1907-1916) over 2,000,000 householders left the village communes; by the beginning of 1915 over 1,300,000 of them had sold some or all of their land to the kulaks for a mere song. The poor peasants not only left the communes, they left the countryside. The Stolypin reform accelerated the process of differentiation and proletarianization in the villages. An important feature of Stolypin's agrarian organization was the Peasant Bank that split up the land it offered for sale into farms and small holdings before the sale. The Stolypin land reform accelerated the growth of capitalist relations in agriculture and strengthened the kulak farmers. Evidence of this is to be seen in the growing demand for agricultural equipment and machinery, the rapid growth of credit co-operation, etc. Between 1906 and 1917, a total of 1,600,000 separate farms were established but this was only one-tenth of all the peasant farms in European Russia.

In addition to settlement on isolated farms the Stolypin reform also provided for the mass emigration of peasants to Siberia, the Far East and Central Asia. In this way tsarism hoped to weaken the agrarian crisis in the central parts of the country and distract the peasants from the struggle to acquire the land of the big landed proprietors. One of the aims of the emigration plan was to create strongholds of tsarism on the outskirts of the empire by the settlement of Russian kulak farmers in those areas. This policy served to increase national and colonial oppression in the areas settled. At the same time, however, the emigration of Russian peasants increased the influence of Russian economy and culture on the more backward economy and way of life of the peoples of those districts. At first emigration developed at a relatively high speed: between 1906 and 1910 over 2,500,000 people emigrated to the eastern parts of the country. After 1910 the number of emigrants dropped considerably and the stream of ruined peasants, returning to their old homes, began to grow.

The Stolypin agrarian reform did not abolish the remnants

of serfdom and the oppression of the landowners in the villages. Although the landowners, badly scared by the scope of the peasant movement, began to sell their land after 1905, the land that remained was sufficient for them to exercise the most predatory forms of exploitation in the guise of labour for rent and sharecropping. The amount of land sharecropped in different parts of the country ranged from 21 per cent to 68 per cent of the peasants' own land, and the amount of grassland mown for hay on the same principle was from 50 per cent to 185 per cent of the land owned by the peasants. The new agrarian policy, instead of solving the problem of the capitalist transformation of agriculture, greatly sharpened and extended the class contradictions in the rural areas. In addition to the struggle of the peasantry as a whole against the landowners there began the new fight of the labouring peasantry against the plunder of communal lands by the kulaks. The number of peasant disturbances was in these years: 1908—2,045; 1909—2,528; 1910—6,275.

Lenin, in his analysis of the causes for the collapse of the Stolypin agrarian reform, wrote: "The peasants have not and cannot have any other way out of the condition of desperate need, poverty and death from starvation in which they are placed by the government, than a mass struggle together with the proletariat for the overthrow of the power of the tsar." The Stolypin agrarian reform, by aggravating class contradictions in the country, made more profound the objective prerequisites for a stronger alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

After the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, British and French diplomacy set themselves the task of drawing Russia into the Anglo-French bloc. The defeat in the war with Japan upset tsarism's extensive plans for the Far East and weakened its influence in Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. This greatly reduced the area in which the interests of Russian and British imperialism clashed. The antagonism between Russia and Britain took second place in view of the growing contradictions between Britain and Germany and between Russia and Germany. Before 1905 tsarism, despite its economic weakness, was able to conduct an independent foreign policy. Weakened by the war and badly shaken by the revolution tsarism was compelled to accept British and French policy. Tsarism saw in a rapprochement with Britain the key to the realization

of its plans of conquest in respect of Constantinople and the Straits. On August 18, 1907, the Anglo-Russian Convention on Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet was signed in St. Petersburg. Under this agreement Persia was divided into three zones: the northern zone was Russia's sphere of influence, the south-eastern was British, while the central zone was neutral. Russia recognized Afghanistan as a British sphere of influence. The Convention completed the alliance of Russia, France and Britain in the Triple Entente which was opposed by the other imperialist bloc, headed by Germany; this was an important step in preparing for the First World War. One of the consequences of the agreement was the joint action of Russian and British imperialists against the growing revolutionary-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, first and foremost against the Persian revolution.

Russia's inclusion in the Entente aggravated the antagonism between Russia and Germany and Russia and Austria. The Russian landowners and bourgeoisie had been very dissatisfied with the unprofitable commercial agreement that Germany had imposed on Russia in 1904 and the open propaganda of the Pan-German party to alienate Poland, the Baltic area and the Ukraine from Russia. In 1908, Germany's ally, Austro-Hungary, taking advantage of the military weakness of tsarism after the Russo-Japanese War, announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The tsarist government delivered a protest to Austro-Hungary against this aggressive action. On March 21, 1909, the German Government demanded that Russia unconditionally recognize the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austro-Hungary. The tsarist government, unprepared for war and afraid of another revolution in the event of war, submitted to the German ultimatum.

In an effort to stave off an armed clash and strengthen its fighting forces, the government of Russia, on August 6 (19), 1911, concluded an agreement with Germany on Persian affairs (the Potsdam Agreement). Russia undertook not to hinder the construction of the Baghdad Railway by German capitalists and to build a railway line from Tehran to the Turkish frontier to link up the Persian railways with the Baghdad Railway. Germany on her part undertook not to apply for railway, waterway or telegraph concessions in Northern Persia, a sphere of Russian influence under the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907. This agreement did not, by any means, conform to the aims of

German politics and only for a short time lessened the tension in Russo-German relations. The Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 again sharpened the contradictions between Russia and Germany. The growing antagonism between the imperialist powers, the rise of the working-class movement in Europe and the national-liberation movement in Asia, the swing-over of the ruling circles from dallying with democracy to open political reaction—all this showed the maturing of the general crisis of the capitalist system that was at its greatest in Russia, the weakest link in the world imperialist front.

Stolypin's regime of reaction proved unstable. The basic factors in economic and political life that had called forth the Revolution of 1905-1907 continued to operate. The maturing of a new revolutionary crisis was inevitable.

Russia in the Years of the New Industrial and Revolutionary Revival (1909-1914)

The industrial revival began in 1909. The five years from 1909 to 1913 saw an increase in the winning of coal from 1,591 million to 2,214 million poods, in the smelting of iron from 175 million to 283 million poods and in the output of malleable iron and steel from 163 million to 247 million poods; cotton consumption in those years rose from 21.3 million to 25.9 million poods. The value of total industrial output rose by 54 per cent and foreign trade increased by 23 per cent. The industrial revival was accelerated by the expansion of the home market resulting from the development of capitalism in agriculture, the latter being facilitated by the Stolypin agrarian reform. The extension of the sown area that took place in the pre-war years (from 92,057,000 dessiatines in 1906-1910 to 97,630,000 dessiatines in 1911-1913), especially the area under industrial crops, the growth of commodity production in agriculture, the higher prices for farm produce and the good harvests of 1909 and 1910 all served to increase the incomes in cash received by the landowners and kulaks; this, in turn, led to an extension of the home market. Greater building activities began in the towns and there was a renewal of equipment in industry and transport. The industrial revival was also connected with the tsarist government's preparations for war.

In the 1909-1913 five-year period the output of heavy industry increased (in value) by about 76 per cent and the output of

light industry by 39 per cent. In the textile industry, however, the depression was not followed by a revival. This was shown by the marketing crisis of 1911 and the mass bankruptcies of textile firms in 1912. This poor state of the cotton goods market was to be explained by the low purchasing capacity of the peasants.

The growth of industry was accompanied by a further concentration of production. In 1914 big enterprises employing 500 or more workers accounted for 56.5 per cent of all workers. On the eve of the First World War 53 per cent of all the iron smelted in Russia was provided by 9 South-Russian iron mills. On account of the sharpened competition due to raw material prices the formation of combines became widespread; by "combine" is meant the concentration of allied types of production in one enterprise. In 1913 the share of 5 metallurgical concerns—the Bryansk, South Russian-Dnieper, Russo-Belgian, Novorossiisk and Donets-Yuryev concerns—accounted for about 60 per cent of the total iron production in the south, 50 per cent of the total ore extraction and coke burning and 25 per cent of the coal output of the Donets Basin. The process of monopoly formation in Russian industry was being accelerated. In 1907 the Krovlya syndicate of Urals ironmasters, the Med trust of copper-smelting plants and the rubber syndicate emerged; in 1908 the iron-ore syndicate Prodarud, a syndicate of Lodz cotton mills and a match syndicate came into being. There were also syndicates producing agricultural machinery and in inland water transport. A conservative estimate puts the number of monopoly concerns at between 140 and 150 in 1914. The syndicate was the dominant form of Russian monopoly. In some branches of industry, however, there was a tendency to trustification in the pre-war years. The Putilov Works, for example, that was closely linked up with Russian banks and foreign arms-producing concerns, was well on the way to becoming a gigantic "arms trust." Three trusts were formed in the oil industry.

The concentration of industry was accompanied by a further concentration of banking capital. In 1914 only 12 banks (10 of them in St. Petersburg) held 80 per cent of the banking funds in their hands. At the same time the resources of the joint-stock banks were considerably augmented. On January 1, 1914, the actual capital of the commercial banks reached the figure of 836 million as compared with 332 million rubles on January 1,

1910, while deposits on current accounts rose from 1,262 million to 2,539 million rubles in the same period. The growth of their capital and especially the increase in the amount of the deposits enabled the banks to finance industry to a greater extent. The big banks became not only the creditors but also influential shareholders able to decide the fate of industrial concerns. On the eve of the war the Russo-Asian Bank controlled enterprises with a share capital of 204 million rubles. Foreign shareholders held 42 per cent of the shares of the leading commercial banks. The close relations between the banks and industry led to the merging of banking and industrial monopolies and the formation of finance capital. The heads of the biggest commercial banks were at the same time the chief shareholders in industrial, transport and insurance companies. The merging of banking and industrial monopolies was complemented by the alliance of the financial oligarchy with the state machinery. The specific feature of this alliance in Russia lay in the fact that finance capital, to a considerable extent controlled by foreign capital, had allied itself to one of the most reactionary types of superstructure—the feudal monarchy that was slowly undergoing a process of evolution in the direction of a bourgeois monarchy. "A handful of serf-owning landlords," wrote Lenin, "headed by Nicholas II, was in power, in close alliance with the magnates of finance capital who acquired profits unheard of in Europe and for whose benefit the predatory foreign political agreements were concluded."

The industrial recovery that set in and the growth in the demand for fuel and metal that it brought, were used by the coal, oil and metallurgical monopolies for the compulsory reduction and even open cessation of production in order to raise prices. The development of industry was artificially curtailed; production capacities were not fully used; preparations for the working of new coal seams and oilfields were reduced to a minimum and the development of new ore deposits was not permitted. The monopoly policy of curtailing output led to a slight reduction in oil extraction—from 588 million poods in 1910 to 551 million poods in 1914. Although coal output continued to increase the annual rate of growth in the 1909-1913 period was half that of the 1895-1900 period (it dropped from 16 per cent to 8 per cent). Coal prices increased 40 per cent during 1913 alone and oil prices were almost trebled between 1910 and 1913. High prices brought the monopolies big profits. Official statis-

ties give the net profits of the coal industry as 9.8 per cent in 1910 and 13.9 per cent in 1913.

The development of industry notwithstanding, Russia still remained an agrarian country. Before the war 76 per cent of the population were engaged in agricultural pursuits and only 10 per cent in industry. In 1913 the value of industrial production and building amounted to 7,749 million rubles (42.5 per cent) and that of agricultural production to 10,225 million rubles (57.5 per cent), and 65 per cent of industrial output was accounted for by consumer goods. The national income per head of the population of Russia was one-sixth of that of Britain, less than a quarter of that of France and little more than a quarter of that of Germany. For electric power output Russia occupied 15th place, for coal output, 6th place, for iron and steel, 5th place, for copper output, 7th place, and for the manufacture of machines, 4th place in world industrial production on the eve of the war. The output of iron and steel per head of the population was only one-eleventh of that of the U.S.A., one-eighth of British, one-sixth of German and one-quarter of French production. There was a still greater lag in the extraction of coal. Despite the fact that Russian industry was the most highly concentrated in the world, it lagged behind the developed capitalist countries in its technical equipment, the level of labour productivity and the specialization of production. In 1913 the productivity of labour in Russia was a ninth of that of the U.S.A., little more than a fifth of that of Britain and a third of that of France. The geographical distribution of industries was extremely irrational from an economic standpoint. More than three-quarters of industrial production was concentrated in four areas—Moscow, Ivanovo, St. Petersburg and in the Ukraine. The structure of foreign trade also bore witness to Russia's economic backwardness. In 1913 agricultural produce and industrial raw materials accounted for 94.4 per cent (in value) and manufactured goods for only 5.6 per cent of Russian exports.

From 1909 foreign capital began to infiltrate into Russia in increasing amounts. Between 1909 and 1913 foreign investments in commercial and industrial joint-stock companies and credit institutions increased from 989 million to 1,701 million rubles, and amounted to 41 per cent of all share capital.

It has been computed by the Soviet economist L. Y. Eventov that the flow of foreign capital into Russia from 1887 to 1913 amounted to 1,783 million rubles and that the net profit on all

invested capital amounted to 2,326 million rubles. Thus in the course of 26 years the amount of net profit exceeded the sum invested by 543 million rubles. On the eve of the First World War Russia's total foreign debt amounted to 5,900 million rubles. The annual transfer of funds abroad by way of interest and loan redemption amounted to 500 million rubles on the eve of the war. This was considerably greater than the favourable foreign trade balance of 145 million rubles in 1913. In an attempt to reduce the unfavourable balance of payments the tsarist government forced the export of agricultural produce at dumping prices, and pursued a policy known as budget equilibrium, increasing indirect taxes on consumer goods and accepting new foreign loans in order to pay off the old ones.

The state budget increased from 1,700 million rubles in 1900 to 3,400 million rubles in 1913, i.e., it was doubled. The greater part of the direct and indirect taxes was paid by the working people. Taxes on capital, commercial and industrial enterprises and on land (i.e., taxes paid by capitalists and landowners) amounted to only 8 per cent of the total budget revenue. First place on the expenditure side of the state budget was taken by expenditure for the maintenance of the armed forces. In 1913, war expenditure was more than 30 per cent of the budget. Year by year there was an increase in the amounts paid as interest and repayment of state loans and in expenditure on police, prisons, courts and the clergy. In 1913, 136 million rubles were allocated for education, an average of 80 kopeks per head of the population. The result was that about four-fifths of the country's children and adolescents never attended school and the number of literates before the First World War did not exceed 21 per cent of the population.

At the beginning of the 20th century a revolutionary force took form in Russia that was capable of leading the masses in the struggle against tsarism and imperialism. This force was the proletariat that grew stronger in the years of industrial prosperity. The number of workers in those factories that were under the supervision of the factory inspectors increased by 80.8 per cent in the five years from 1909-1913 and reached a total of 2,282,100. The mass of proletarians and semi-proletarians employed in agriculture and building also increased. At the same time the number of workers who had completely broken away from village life also increased. Only 20.9 per cent



The building in Ivanovskaya Street, St. Petersburg, that housed the editorial offices of *Pravda* in 1914

of the entire mass of industrial workers were still connected with agriculture.

In 1913 the real wages of industrial workers had fallen to 90 per cent of the 1900 level, while the profits of the industrialists had more than trebled. The progressive impoverishment of the proletariat and the mass of working people, the tremendous increase in the profits of a handful of monopolies together with the increased concentration of the workers helped raise the class consciousness and determination of the proletariat who acted under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

The shooting of unarmed workers by tsarist troops on the Lena gold-fields on April 4, 1912, called forth a gigantic wave of protest from the Russian proletariat. The working class of Russia responded to that bloody crime with mass meetings, strikes and demonstrations. On April 22, 1912, on the initiative of the St. Petersburg workers, the legal daily paper of the Bolshevik Party, *Pravda*, was founded. The paper played an important part in strengthening the Party ranks and in extending the Party's bonds with the masses and also in training the ris-

ing generation of revolutionary workers and in the struggle for the unity of the working class.

Elections to the Fourth Duma took place in the autumn of 1912 at a time when there was a growing revolutionary crisis in the country. The Bolsheviks took advantage of the elections to extend their revolutionary agitation. And the Bolsheviks were successful—they were elected by the working-class constituencies (*Curiae*). The six industrial gubernias in which four-fifths of the entire working class were domiciled elected Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth Duma (see Table 5). There was a rapid growth of trade unions and other legal working-class organizations where the influence of the Bolshevik Party became much stronger. Of great significance was the victory of the Bolsheviks at the 1913 elections to the executive of the biggest trade union in the country—the St. Petersburg Metalworkers' Union. The insurance campaign, conducted by the Bolsheviks between 1912 and 1914, was also of great importance in mobilizing the masses for the struggle against the autocracy and the bourgeoisie; the Bolsheviks carried on a campaign of agitation during elec-



Opening of the First Session of the Fourth State Duma, November 15, 1912



Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth State Duma, exiled for life. Left to right: G. Petrovsky, M. Muranov, A. Badayev, F. Samoilov, N. Shagov. Photographed in 1915

tions to the social insurance bodies in order to gain control of them and turn them into strongholds of the Bolshevik Party.

The percentage of participants in political strikes increased from 36 in 1908-1910 to 66 in 1911-1914; 43 per cent of all strikers were St. Petersburg workers.

The struggle for the national liberation of the oppressed peoples gained strength under the direct influence of the struggle of the Russian working class. The banning of Shevchenko memorial meetings by the tsarist government in 1914 called forth strikes, meetings and demonstrations of protest in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Tiflis and other towns that were accompanied by clashes of workers and students with the police. On July 1, 1912, there was a mutiny in a sapper regiment in the Troitskoye Camp near Tashkent.

The revolutionary upsurge between 1910 and 1914 served to deepen the crisis of the autocracy. The Third of June system was the last attempt to save the feudal monarchy and revive its alliance with the bourgeoisie. This system, introduced by the reactionary election laws of June 3 (16), 1907, began with the dispersal of the Second Duma. The Third Duma was elected under this law which ensured its reactionary composition. In the meantime there was growing mistrust and discontent in the relations between the feudal landowners and the bourgeoisie who constituted the June 3 bloc. The Bolsheviks made use of

the conflicts within the bloc to expose the reactionary, anti-popular policy of tsarism and the pseudo-democracy of the liberal opposition. By the summer of 1914 the working-class movement had developed on a scale never before known. The general strike of oilfield workers began in Baku in May 1914 and called forth many strikes and demonstrations of solidarity throughout the country. At the Putilov Works in St. Petersburg a meeting on the Baku events was called on July 3. The police fired on the workers and, in answer to an appeal issued by the Bolsheviks, the St. Petersburg workers declared a general strike of protest. Workers in the Vyborg District erected barricades.

In the period of the revolutionary upsurge the Bolshevik Party headed the working-class movement and led the working masses to a new revolution; the outbreak of the imperialist war, however, checked the course of the revolution.

The Balkan wars of 1912-1913 had increased the tenseness of the world situation. The imperialist states were stepping up their war preparations but Russia lagged behind the others in the arms race. A programme approved in 1913 envisaged an increase in the Russian army of 480,000 men or 39 per cent by 1917. The programme of shipbuilding, adopted in 1912, provided for an increase in the Baltic and Black Sea fleets, also by 1917. On the eve of the First World War the Russian army had a strength of about 1,400,000 officers and men, almost as many as the three powers of the Triple Alliance, Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy, combined (1,529,000). But the technical level and equipment of the Russian army were inferior to those of the other imperialist powers. Russia's preparations for the war were hampered by her low war-industrial potential. Railway transport was poorly prepared for war. The density of the railway network, even in European Russia, was only one-eleventh of that of Germany and one-seventh of that of Austro-Hungary. Heavy artillery and machine-guns were produced in insufficient quantities in the Russian factories and the manufacture of anti-aircraft guns and aircraft motors had not been organized. Even rifles and cartridges were produced in insufficient quantities. At the same time, at the beginning of the First World War, the Russian army was equipped with the 76 mm. field gun, 1902 pattern, one of the best guns of its time. The experience of the Russo-Japanese War was, to some extent, taken into consideration in training the army. Great attention was paid to artillery preparation for an infantry attack. The new training manuals

called attention to the individual training of the soldiers, the independence of junior commanders and the training of the troops in the spirit of active offensive operations. The training of the higher officers, however, was quite inadequate. The selection of officers for posts of command was not made in accordance with their abilities but depended exclusively on their connections at court. The role of motor vehicles and other military technical equipment in war was obviously grossly underestimated. Many of the inventions of Russian scientists and engineers were not adopted by the army owing to the ignorance of the tsarist military and political leaders. The Russo-French Military Convention of 1893 was gradually being changed to subordinate the plans of the Russian general staff to those of the French general staff.

Russia in the First World War

The First World War resulted from a sharpening of the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalism. The chief cause of the outbreak and development of the war was the imperialist contradictions between Great Britain and Germany. Tsarist Russia entered the war as a result of the growing struggle between Russian and Austro-German imperialists for domination in the Balkans and in Turkey. Russia, whose position in the Entente was a dependent one, pursued her own imperialist aims in the First World War, primarily the seizure of the Straits.

On July 19 (August 1), 1914, Germany declared war on Russia; following this France and Britain entered the war against Germany, and Austro-Hungary against the Entente countries. From the first days of the war the parties of the Second International adopted the position of social-chauvinism, the support of their own bourgeoisie in the imperialist war. The Bolshevik Party was the only party in the world to remain true to the principles of revolutionary Marxism and called on the masses to struggle against the imperialist war and against international social-chauvinism. The Bolshevik Group in the Fourth State Duma was active in exposing the imperialist nature of the war and up to their arrest in November 1914, condemned the war and refused to vote war credits. The Russian working class as a whole did not succumb to the chauvinist propaganda of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the S.R.'s and Mensheviks. The Manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., drawn up by Lenin

in November 1914, put forward the slogan of the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war.

The German imperialists, in launching the war, relied on its being a speedy one. As a war on two fronts was inevitable the German staff struck their first and main blow at France. After the defeat of France it was intended to transfer forces to the Eastern Front and gain a victory over Russia. The German war plan failed from the very beginning on account of an underestimation of the strength and economic potential of the enemy and an overestimation of their own possibilities and also because it did not meet the requirements of a modern war in which armies of millions are engaged. The German forces began their attack on France through Belgium successfully and tried to surround and crush the French army. At that moment, decisive to the fate of France, two Russian armies on the North-Western Front invaded East Prussia. On August 20, 1914, the 1st Russian Army inflicted a serious defeat on the 8th German Army at Gumbinnen and forced it to retreat. The German staff was compelled to withdraw two army corps from the Western Front and transfer them to the Eastern Front. This made possible the German defeat on the Marne. The inadequately prepared and poorly led Russian offensive in East Prussia ended in failure. In August and September 1914 Russian troops defeated the Austro-Hungarian armies in Galicia and threw them back across the River San to the Carpathians. The Austro-Hungarian armies, however, were not completely routed. The Russian High Command halted the advance of its armies in Galicia and transferred the 4th, 5th and 9th armies from the South-Western Front and the 2nd Army and two corps of the 1st Army from the line of the River Narev to the Warsaw area, intending to launch an offensive from the Middle Vistula through Silesia on Berlin. In order to support the defeated Austrian armies the German command launched an offensive on the Vistula, against Warsaw. In the bloody battles that ensued between Ivangorod and Warsaw in October 1914 Russian troops smashed the 9th German and part of the 1st Austrian armies. In November 1914 the German command launched what was known as the Lodz operation in which the Germans tried to surround the 2nd and 5th Russian armies in that area by a sudden attack. In a counter-manoeuve the Russian troops not only opened out the German pincers, but surrounded General Schöffer's flanking group; only remnants of this group succeeded in breaking out.

On October 29 and 30, the Turkish fleet and the German cruisers *Goeben* and *Breslau* attacked Russian vessels in the Black Sea and shelled Odessa and other ports and bases. On that day Turkey entered the war against Russia. In December the 3rd Turkish Army launched an offensive in the direction of Sarykamysh with the aim of surrounding and destroying the main body of the Russian Caucasian Army, but a Russian counter-offensive routed the Turks. In the spring of 1915 the Austrian fortress at Przemyśl, with a garrison of 120,000, capitulated. Russian troops continued their offensive in the Carpathians, gained numerous mountain passes and prepared to invade the Hungarian plain in order to crush the resistance of Austro-Hungary. In order to save her ally, Germany went over to the defensive in the West and concentrated big forces in the East to crush the Russian armies and squeeze Russia out of the war. At the beginning of the war Germany and Austro-Hungary had 52 infantry and 14 cavalry divisions on the Eastern Front, but in 1915 the number had been increased to 116 infantry and 24 cavalry divisions, which was half their total forces. In May 1915 Austro-German forces breached the line at Gorlice and began to push back the Russian armies. On June 22 Russian troops abandoned Lvov and on August 5 left Warsaw. In September the Germans captured Vilno. By the winter of 1915 the German offensive had been checked and the front stabilized along the line Western Dvina-Baranovichi-Pinsk-Dubno. The plan to surround the Russian armies in Poland had failed and Germany was still squeezed between two fronts. Although Russian troops had escaped encirclement their losses had been exceptionally heavy. The badly armed Russian forces suffered defeat on account of the technical and economic backwardness of tsarist Russia, the stupidity of the command and the lack of help from their allies. The poor economic preparation for the war led to a crisis in arms and ammunition as early as the beginning of 1915. The strength of the army has been raised to 5,600,000 by the end of 1914 while the number of rifles available in the arsenals on the eve of the war was only 4,652,000. A monthly supply of 200,000 rifles was needed to make good losses, but the Russian arms factories had been able to produce only 480,000 rifles during the first year of the war. There was also an acute shortage of cartridges. From August 1914 to July 1915, factories turned out 843 million rifle cartridges while the army required 200 million a month. Industry provided only one-third

of the number of shells required by the artillery (500,000 a month were manufactured). Russian factories were able to supply only 10 or 11 per cent of the quantity of powder and other explosives needed during the first year of the war. The tsarist government tried to overcome the arms crisis mainly by placing war orders in other countries. During the war, orders to the value of 7,694 million rubles were placed abroad; these included 2,991 million rubles in the U.S.A., 2,331 million rubles in Great Britain and 1,641 million in France. Despite the high prices, the foreign firms often delayed the fulfilment of orders and not infrequently supplied goods of low quality. The Russian war orders placed in the U.S.A. were fulfilled only to the value of 840 million rubles, i.e., 28 per cent. At first payment for Russian orders was made from sums held by the State Bank in foreign countries, and when these were exhausted, by means of new foreign loans. This increased the dependence of tsarist Russia on foreign capital. During the war years foreign loans amounting to over 8,000 million rubles were contracted for. Britain took into her own hands the financing of Russia's foreign war orders. War credits were obtained—70 per cent in Britain, 19 per cent in France and 7 per cent in the U.S.A. In exchange for arms the allies demanded that the Russian Government dispatch Russian troop formations to the Western Front; several Russian brigades fought in France and at Salonica in Greece.

During the first ten months of the war neither the tsarist government nor the bourgeoisie did anything to reorganize Russian economy to meet the needs of the army. It was not until May 1915, when there was a danger of a shortage of metal and when the shortage of shells and armaments at the front had become critical, that a conference on supplies for the army was held under the chairmanship of the Minister of War; the conference was attended by representatives of the State Council, the State Duma and several government departments, as well as representatives of the industrialists and the banks. At the end of May 1915 the capitalists organized a Central War-Industry Committee with district committees in the provinces. The functions of the Unions of Rural and Urban Authorities, founded at the beginning of the war, were greatly extended and a combined committee (Zemgor) was set up to provide the army with military and other equipment. In August 1915 special conferences were established on defence, fuel, food and transport for

the purpose of regulating the war economy. These conferences were given the right to establish quotas for enterprises and the sequence in which they were to receive raw materials and fuel, to fix prices, to determine priorities in transport and to effect the militarization and sequester of individual factories that could not cope with war orders. State interference in the industrial and commercial affairs of private enterprises, however, was extremely inconsistent and superficial. Attempts to establish "strict" rations for the consumption of fuel and the regulation of its delivery to consumers failed because the extraction and sale of fuel remained in the hands of private industrialists. Plans for a state monopoly in coal, oil, ferrous metals, grain, etc., were not accepted on account of the resistance of the industrialists and landowners who saw in them an infringement of their freedom of unlimited speculation and profit. Maximum prices were not fixed because the "regulating" bodies were unable to affect the conditions of production and distribution. The sluggishness and incompleteness of the mobilization of the hinterland, the immaturity of state-monopoly capitalism in tsarist Russia (where the merging and intertwining of government bodies and private monopoly concerns was weaker than that of Britain, France and Germany), were to be explained by the strivings of the ruling feudal upper stratum to prevent the political strengthening of the bourgeoisie. The political weakness of the Russian bourgeoisie, its dependence on the tsarist government and its participation together with the landed proprietors in the counter-revolutionary June 3 bloc made that class incapable of organizing the country's war economy. The activities of the "regulating" bodies were confined exclusively to the maximum increase of war production at the expense of an all-round curtailment of the so-called peaceful branches of industry. During the war the number of workers in enterprises not working directly for defence was decreased by 13 per cent while that of factories producing armaments and equipment for the war increased by almost 89 per cent. The state machinery hindered the building of new plants and, in consequence, the extension of the metallurgy for the home industry. The entire burden fell on existing plants which were insufficient to ensure even simple reproduction. The reactionary, bureaucratic "regulation" of war production, therefore, in the final analysis only served to render more acute the anarchy of production and the plundering of basic capital in industry and

transport. Nevertheless state "regulation" of war production strengthened the economic position of the bourgeoisie. Slave labour conditions were introduced into the militarized factories. Workers were sent to the front for the slightest contravention of rules or for political "unreliability."

The spasmodic reconstruction of industry to meet the needs of the army led to a considerable increase in war production in 1916. By the beginning of 1917 the annual output of rifles reached the figure of 1,600,000 as compared with 480,000 during the first year of the war. The output of machine-guns rose to 25 times the pre-war level. Plants producing guns greatly increased their output. In 1915 the number of guns produced was 2,106 and in 1916 it was 5,135. Considerable progress was made in the war-chemical industry that in pre-war days depended entirely on imports of materials and semi-manufactured products. In general, the Russian chemical industry increased its output by 150 per cent in 1916 over that of 1913.

Russian industry was the chief source of supply for the Russian armed forces (see Table 6).

Table 6

SUPPLIES FOR THE ARMY, 1913-1916 (%%)

	Allied deliveries	Home production
Rifles	30	70
Rifle cartridges	1	99
Guns	23	77
Shells	20	80

Despite the rapid progress made in the production of arms and ammunition, throughout the war Russian troops experienced an acute shortage of rifles, machine-guns, shells, rifle and machine-gun cartridges and explosives. The total deficit of rifles amounted to more than 7,000,000. Supplies of new types of equipment, aeroplanes, motor vehicles, etc., were still worse, the Russian army depending entirely on the allies and the U.S.A. for the supply of these items.

The war increased the efforts of the capitalists to unite in monopoly organizations to be better able to corner all available fuel and raw materials and establish high monopoly prices on war goods supplied to the state. The specific feature of the con-

centration of industry and the formation of monopolies in the war period was the growth of combined production (of allied items in one factory) with the consequent formation of combines and trusts. Beginning in 1916, the extension of war production with its promise of big profits for the capitalists led to an unheard-of wave of speculative company promotion. In 1916 alone, 244 limited industrial companies were founded with a basic capital of 382 million rubles. Taking advantage of the fact that war orders employed the factories to full capacity the monopolies, in actual practice, dictated their terms to the "regulating" bodies as far as selling prices and the distribution of orders among the factories were concerned. The Committee for the Metallurgical Industry, subordinated to the Special Conference on Defence, functioned in close contact with Prodamet, Krovlya and other monopolies. With the support of the authority of government bodies, the monopolists achieved a constant rise in prices for war orders. In the course of the war the gross profit of the capitalists increased three or four times over while some enterprises in the metal-processing industry that worked almost exclusively for the war made profits from eight to nine times greater than pre-war. In the same period the basic capital of joint-stock companies did not increase by more than 10 to 15 per cent. The profits of the limited companies, therefore, were not increased so much by extended production and renewal of plant as by increased exploitation of the workers. While the dividends of the capitalists were more than doubled average real wages dropped by no less than 15-20 per cent.

The fresh wave of strikes that began in the spring of 1915 was due to war privations. In the summer of 1915 there were strikes at Kostroma and Ivanovo-Voznesensk that ended with the shooting of workers. Strikes broke out in Petrograd, Moscow and other industrial centres as a sign of protest against the bloody crimes of tsarism. Under these conditions, when there was a growth of the revolutionary working-class movement and tsarist troops were suffering defeats at the front, the bourgeoisie entered the path of opposition to tsarism. In August 1915 the bourgeois-landlord groups of the State Duma formed a "progressive bloc" and demanded the creation of a "Ministry of Confidence." At the same time the bourgeoisie made an attempt to set up "workers' groups" in the war-industry committees in an effort to weaken the strike movement and ensure the uninterrupted working of the factories for the supply

of the front. The Mensheviks called on the workers to take an active part in these groups. At the elections of the war-industry committees in Petrograd and in many other towns, however, the overwhelming majority of the workers favoured the Bolshevik tactic of boycotting the "workers' groups."

The imperialist war made the crisis in agriculture more acute and this led to the further impoverishment of masses of peasant farms. According to the figures of the all-Russian agricultural census of 1917 the able-bodied male population of the rural areas had been reduced by 47.4 per cent. The number of horses, the chief draught animals on the farms, was reduced from 17,900,000 in 1914 to 12,800,000 in 1917. There was also a decline in animal husbandry. The output of farm machinery and fertilizers was drastically reduced, and their import almost entirely ceased. Each year the area planted to crops and the per acre yield grew smaller. By 1917 the area planted to grain and potatoes was 11.7 per cent smaller than that of 1914 while the total harvest of food grains, fodder crops and potatoes decreased by 26.2 per cent in the same period.

The village was bound to the front by a thousand threads and the growth of political consciousness among the peasantry was due to the direct influence of the revolutionary ferment in the army. The mobilization of workers for the front augmented the proletarian stratum of the army. With the support of working-class soldiers the Bolsheviks conducted illegal propaganda in the units, calling on soldiers of the belligerent armies to fraternize. Bolshevik propaganda had an especially great influence among the sailors of the Baltic Fleet and the soldiers on the Northern Front owing to the proximity of these areas to the working-class centres of Petrograd and Riga.

A revolutionary crisis was maturing in the country. At enterprises under the supervision of the factory and mines inspectors 571,000 workers struck in 1915 and 1,172,000 in 1916. The total number of strikers from August 1914 to February 1917 amounted to 2,461,000, of whom 1,407,000 took part in economic strikes and 1,054,000 in political strikes. Owing to the considerable changes in the composition of the working class by the addition of petty-bourgeois elements during the war, the number of participants in economic strikes increased to 57 per cent as compared with the 34 per cent in the 1911-1914 period. At the same time the stubbornness and determination of the strike struggle in 1915 and 1916 were greater than in the pre-war

years, greater even than in 1905. In the 1914-1916 period 70 per cent of all economic strikes ended in the total or partial satisfaction of the strikers' demands, whereas in the 1911-1914 period only 38 per cent of the strikes had ended in victory. The workers of Petrograd were in the lead.

Under the influence of the revolutionary struggle of the Russian workers and soldiers the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples grew stronger. In the summer of 1916 there was a spontaneous mass revolt of peasants, hired labourers, the urban poor and factory workers in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The chief cause of the revolt was greater oppression by the tsarist colonial officials and the local feudals and *bais* in the war period. The immediate reason for the revolt was the tsarist edict of June 25, 1916, mobilizing the native male population of those areas for trench-digging. The movement did not begin simultaneously in all regions and was broken up into local, unconnected centres of revolt. The 1916 revolt was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in character. In a few places the movement was reactionary in character under the influence of feudal and clerical elements.

In May 1916 an offensive was launched on the South-Western Front. The Russian army captured 450,000 prisoners and an immense amount of booty. The offensive, however, was not supported by the other fronts or by the allies and this prevented the achievement of decisive strategical results. The German command transferred 24 divisions from the Western Front and was able to check the offensive on the Russian South-Western Front that, in its later stages, was not backed up by adequate reserves and supplies.

By the end of 1916 the national economy was in a state of collapse.

By December 1916 only 35 out of 59 blast-furnaces in the south and 42 out of 94 in the Urals were working owing to a shortage of ore and fuel. Only 145 of the country's 219 metallurgical plants were working continuously in 1916, and metal requirements were met by no more than 50 per cent. The railways suffered from an acute shortage of locomotives and other rolling stock. The traffic potential of the railways and ports was so low that huge stacks of goods were piled up: these amounted to 150,000 railway truckloads at the beginning of 1916. Although the total grain harvest was less than pre-war there was still a surplus of farm produce in the country as the

export of grain had almost stopped (60 million poods in 1914-1915 as compared with 764 million in 1913-1914). Nevertheless the working people of the towns were hungry on account of the inability of the tsarist government to organize supplies, the disruption of railway transport, increased prices and the speculative operations of the banks, landowners and kulaks. On January 29, 1917, there was a ten-day supply of flour in Petrograd, a three-day supply of fats and no meat at all. The situation was still more catastrophic in other industrial centres.

War expenditure up to the February Revolution of 1917 had exceeded 30,000 million rubles (about a third was covered by foreign loans, the remainder by internal loans and the excessive issue of paper money). The total value of treasury notes in circulation increased from 1,600 million rubles on July 1, 1914, to 9,500 million rubles on March 1, 1917. The purchasing power of the ruble dropped to 27 kopeks. During the war foreign capital became still more strongly entrenched in Russian industry. According to P.V. Ol's data, on January 1, 1917, foreign capital accounted for 50 per cent of the basic capital of industrial joint-stock companies; by nationalities the foreign capital was 33 per cent French, 23 per cent British, 20 per cent German, 14 per cent Belgian and 5 per cent American.

The defeats of the Russian forces, the tremendous losses at the front, the ruin and hunger, all made for a growth of class consciousness, furthered the revolutionary movement of the workers, soldiers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie against tsarism and the imperialist war.

Table 7

LOSSES OF RUSSIAN ARMY UP TO FEBRUARY 1, 1917

	Officers	Men
Killed or died from wounds	11,884	586,880
Poisoned by gas	430	32,718
Wounded	26,041	2,438,591
Suffering from concussion	8,650	93,399
Missing	4,170	185,703
Prisoners	11,899	2,638,050
Total	63,074	5,975,341

The Bolshevik organizations in Russia developed an extensive and determined struggle for the conversion of the impe-

rialist war into a civil war, for the overthrow of tsarism. The theoretical basis for the strategy of the Bolsheviks was provided by Lenin in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in 1916. In this work Lenin gave the first scientific analysis of imperialism, its chief contradictions and laws and showed the conditions under which it must inevitably perish. In his analysis of imperialism Lenin revealed the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the period of imperialism and on the basis of this made the great scientific discovery that the victory of socialism is possible, at first, in a few countries or even in one capitalist country alone.

From 1916 onwards there was an imminent revolutionary situation in the country. The "ministerial leap-frogging" was a manifestation of the instability of the tsarist regime. During the war the President of the Council of Ministers had been changed 4 times, the Minister of Home Affairs, 6 times, the Minister of War, 4 times, etc. The constant changing of ministers disorganized the government. The adventurer, Grigory Rasputin, who was supported by the Black-Hundred royalist organizations, had exceptional influence at court. In the sphere of domestic policy these organizations opposed the slightest concessions not only to the people, but even to the so-called bourgeois "public." Their foreign policy demanded the conclusion of a separate peace with Germany as they feared revolution as a result of the lengthy war. Their placeman was the reactionary B. V. Stürmer, who, at the beginning of 1916, was appointed President of the Council of Ministers. The fact that tsarism was incapable of winning the war and its impotence in face of the oncoming revolution served to evoke dissatisfaction with the tsar among the bourgeoisie. At a meeting of the State Duma on November 1, 1916, P. N. Milyukov, leader of the "progressive bloc," accused the court camarilla of treason. The bourgeoisie decided to effect a palace revolution. The leaders of the Cadets, Octobrists, Progressives, members of the High Command of the army that were closely connected with Duma bourgeois circles (Generals V. I. Gurko, A. M. Krymov and others) took part in preparing the coup. Black-Hundred circles, on their part, made preparations to disperse the Duma and declare a military dictatorship. The February Revolution that broke out in Russia upset the plans of both the bourgeois conspirators and the Extremists.

February Revolution, 1917

The February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution began with strikes and demonstrations in Petrograd on International Women's Day, February 23 (March 8). On February 24, some 200,000 workers were already on strike, and on February 25, the strike became general. There were clashes between police and demonstrators in the streets. Bolshevik leaflets spread in the city called on the soldiers for a "fraternal alliance between the revolutionary army and the people." On February 27 (March 12), the Petrograd garrison went over to the side of the revolution. On February 27 the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee approved the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party "To All Citizens of Russia!" calling for a continued and determined struggle for the overthrow of tsarism and the formation of a Provisional Revolutionary Government. The Manifesto was published on February 28 (March 13) as a supplement to *Izvestia*, organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies. By the evening of February 27 the capital was



Troops go over to the side of the insurrection, February 1917



Demonstration in Moscow on March 12 (25), 1917

completely in the hands of the insurgent people—workers, soldiers and sailors. The uprising in Petrograd was a signal for revolts all over the country. On February 28 (March 13) Moscow was completely in the hands of the revolutionary people. Following the events in Petrograd and Moscow the February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution was victorious throughout the country. The overthrow of the autocracy was a big step forward in the political development of Russia. Victory had been achieved because the revolution had been effected by a militant alliance of workers and peasants and because the leader of the revolution, the working class under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party, stood at the head of the general democratic movement of millions of peasants and soldiers for peace, bread and liberty. The outbreak of the revolution had been accelerated by the imperialist war, the ruin, the high cost of living, excessive exploitation of the workers and the huge losses at the front. The success of the revolution was also ensured by the use the workers made of their rich experience gained in the Revolution of 1905-1907.

On February 27 workers in the Petrograd factories were already electing their deputies to the Soviet. On the evening of February 27 the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies held its first meeting. At first the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s took over the leadership of the Soviet. The leader of the Menshevik group in the State Duma, N. S. Chkheidze, was elected Chairman of the Soviet. Despite the predominance of the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s in the Soviet, under pressure of the masses it acted as a revolutionary organ of power from the very first day. It supported the initiative of the workers in the organization of a militia that became the basis of the permanent armed force of the capital, and appointed commissars for the establishment of the power of the people in the districts of Petrograd. The Soviet forbade the issue of Black-Hundred newspapers and began the publication of its own organ, *Izvestia*.

On February 27 the bourgeois deputies to the Duma set up a Provisional Committee under M. V. Rodzyanko, that started talks with the tsar's headquarters in the hope of saving the monarchy. The tempestuous development of events made the bourgeoisie change their tactics. Attempts to come to an agreement with the tsarist government were becoming futile as the latter had practically ceased to exist. The Duma committee decided to accept the revolution as an "accomplished fact" and take upon itself the functions of state power. Commissars were appointed from among the membership of the Duma to run the ministries. One of the first steps of the Duma committee was an attempt to subordinate the insurrectionary troops of the Petrograd garrison to itself and use them to "re-establish disrupted law and order." To prevent the army being used for counter-revolutionary action and to ensure the proletarian leadership of the soldiers' movement, the Petrograd Soviet accepted the Bolshevik proposal to elect deputies from the soldiers. On March 1 (14) a joint Plenary Meeting of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was held. In response to the attempts of the Duma committee to disarm the soldiers and restore the old regime in the army, the soldier deputies, under strong Bolshevik influence, got the Soviet to issue Order No. 1, according to which soldiers' committees were to be elected in all units and the soldiers were to be responsible only to the Soviet and to their elected committees. Order No. 1 deprived the Duma committee of the possibility of utilizing the Petrograd garrison in the interests of the counter-revolution. Real power was in

the hands of the Petrograd Soviet. The S.R. and Menshevik leaders of the Soviet, however, did not trust the workers and were afraid to alienate the bourgeoisie as they considered them to be the leading force in the revolution. The leaders of the Soviet, therefore, decided to hand over power to the bourgeoisie. They entered into negotiations with the Duma committee on the subject of forming a government. On March 2 (15) the question of power was discussed by a Plenary Meeting of the Soviet. The Bolsheviks sharply criticized the draft agreement that avoided such questions as the monarchy, the war, the land and the 8-hour working day, and demanded that the Soviet set up a Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Taking advantage of the insufficiency of the class-consciousness, experience and organization of the proletariat, the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s helped the bourgeoisie grab power out of the hands of the victorious people. Strongly under the impression of the false phraseology of the Mensheviks on the employment of the Provisional Government in the interests of the revolution, the Soviet, by a big majority vote, approved the proposal of its Executive Committee to form a bourgeois Provisional Government. The leaders of the parties of the bourgeoisie and landowners became members of the government: P. N. Milyukov, A. I. Guchkov, A. I. Konovalov and others, as well as A. F. Kerensky, a representative of the S.R.'s. A big landed proprietor, Prince G. E. Lvov, was appointed President of the Provisional Government. At the time of the negotiations with the Duma committee the Executive Committee of the Soviet gave the Provisional Government the right to retain the monarchy. Delegates from the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, Guchkov and V. V. Shulgin, went to negotiate with the tsar at Pskov where he had his headquarters; on March 2 (15) Nicholas II signed a Manifesto of Abdication in favour of his brother Michael. On March 3 (16) Michael also abdicated. The Provisional Government's plan to retain the monarchy met with no success and Russia became a bourgeois-democratic republic.

Lenin saw the class roots of the conciliatory policy of the Soviets in the unconsciously trustful attitude of the masses to the bourgeoisie. There had been a rapid victory over the autocracy and sudden, dizzy transition from rule by violence to demagogic promises. The overthrow of tsarism created an atmosphere of conciliation and general fraternization. This was a mood that affected mainly the petty bourgeoisie but it also pen-

etrated into the ranks of the proletariat. In the course of the war the composition of the proletariat had undergone considerable change: about 40 per cent of the old staff workers had been mobilized for the front, and new workers from the villages and from the petty-bourgeois sections of the urban population had entered the factories without any previous experience of revolutionary struggle. The lack of class-consciousness and poor organization of the workers was due also to the weakening of the Bolshevik organizations by police repressions. The bourgeoisie proved to be better organized and more prepared for the seizure of power than the proletariat.

The working class, however, mustered sufficient strength and determination to prevent the Provisional Government from seizing absolute power. This resulted in dual power, a peculiar intertwining of two authorities, bourgeois power through the Provisional Government and the power of the working people through the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Dual power began to take shape even before the formation of the Provisional Government when the insurrectionary workers and soldiers paralysed the attempt of the Duma Provisional Committee to place the troops of the Petrograd garrison under its control (Order No. 1). Under pressure of the masses the Provisional Government was forced to consent to the arrest of the tsar; Nicholas II was arrested by a decision of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, dated March 3 (16), 1917. The capitalists could not withstand the pressure of the revolutionary workers in respect of the 8-hour working day or the establishment of factory committees. A powerful political upsurge began throughout the country.

Chapter IV

THE EPOCH OF SOCIALISM

The Great October Socialist Revolution—Beginning of a New Era in History. Transition from the Bourgeois-Democratic to the Socialist Revolution. Period of the Peaceful Development of the Revolution

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the natural result of the historic development of society in the epoch of imperialism.

Imperialism is the forerunner of the socialist revolution. The First World War, that started the general crisis of capitalism and made all the contradictions of imperialism more acute, brought Russia to the brink of a national catastrophe. The war, and the militarization of industry that came with it, led to a further concentration of production and marketing in the hands of monopoly and finance capital. "The dialectics of history are such," wrote Lenin, "that the war, accelerating to an exceptional degree the conversion of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism, *thereby* brought mankind exceptionally close to socialism."

The February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution that overthrew the autocracy was an important step forward on the way to the socialist revolution. By evoking dual power the February Revolution provided an exceptionally contradictory and unusual solution to the basic problem of the revolution, the problem of power. Dual power could only be a temporary phenomenon in the life of the state. The bourgeois Provisional Government, supported by the parties of conciliation, the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s, pursued an imperialist, anti-popular policy. They did not want and, by virtue of their class nature, could not give the people peace, land or real freedom. The fundamental contradictions in the life of society remained unsolved. It was

inevitable that the bourgeois-democratic revolution should develop into a socialist revolution. Only the socialist revolution could solve the already mature problems of social progress, abolish the bourgeois-landowner social structure of Russia, abolish all forms of social and national oppression and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat for the purpose of building socialist society. The leader and chief motive force of the revolution was the Russian working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, headed by V. I. Lenin. The proletariat had an ally in the rural poor who constituted as much as 65 per cent of the peasantry.

In this difficult situation the Bolshevik Party unfolded its legal revolutionary work among the masses, mobilizing and organizing them for the further development of the revolution. A concrete, theoretically founded plan of struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the socialist revolution was elaborated by Lenin. On his return on April 3 (16), 1917, to Petrograd from exile abroad, he read his famous *April Theses* which analysed the situation that had developed since the February Revolution; he pointed to the imperialist nature and policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government, exposed the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s as the agents of the bourgeoisie in



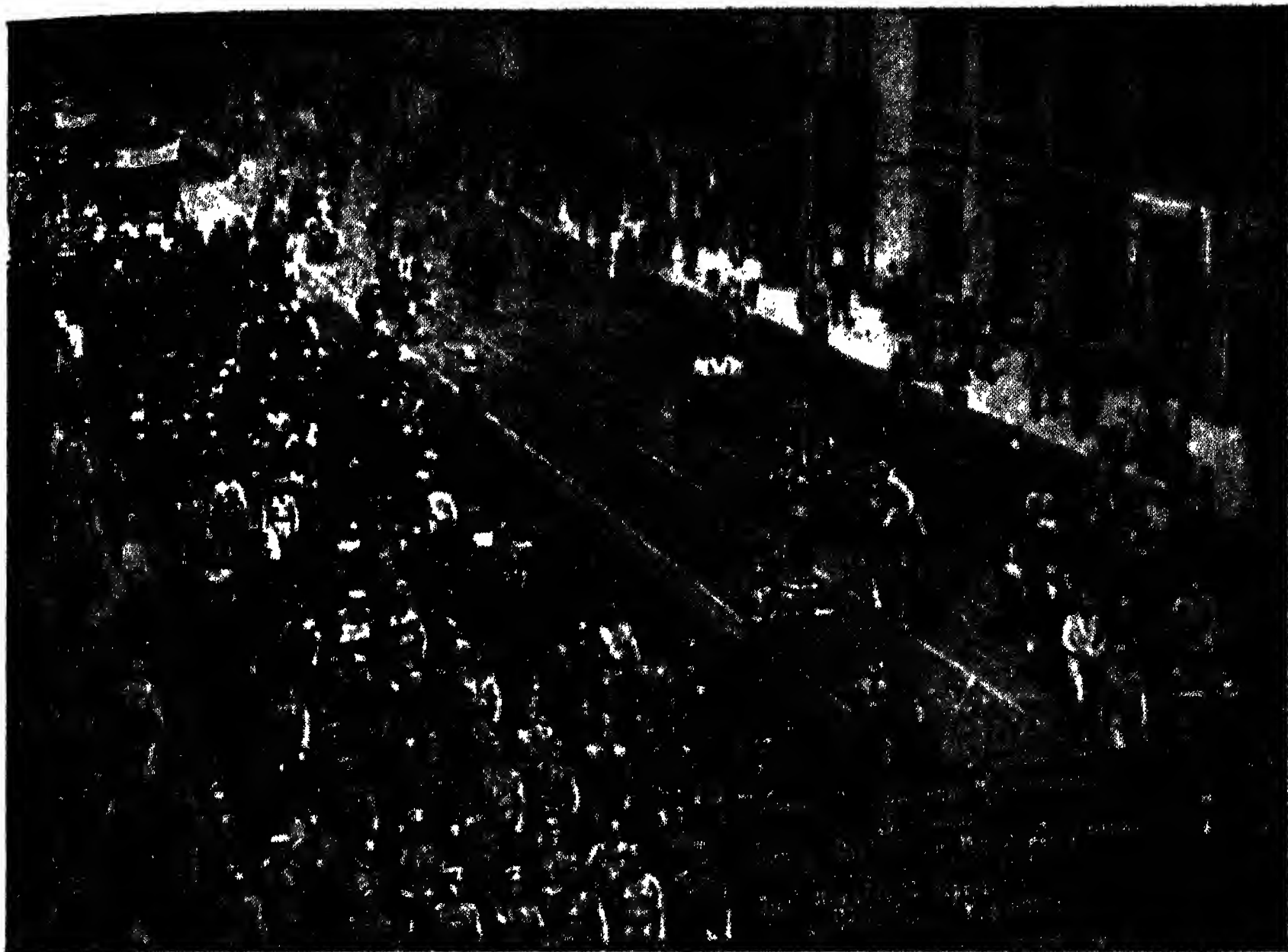
V. I. Lenin reads his *April Theses*. Petrograd, 1917

the ranks of the working class and as dangerous enemies of the revolution. Lenin showed that the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, formed on the creative initiative of the people in the course of the revolution, constituted a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and under Russian conditions were the best form of political organization of society in the transition period from capitalism to socialism. The *Theses* formulated the economic platform of the Party; this included the nationalization of all land with the confiscation of landed estates, the merging of all banks in one national bank under the control of the Soviets, workers control over social production and distribution of output. In putting forward the demand: "No support for the Provisional Government," Lenin did not propose the immediate overthrow of that body as it had the support of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. The parties of conciliation, the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s, stood at the head of the Soviets and were still trusted by the misled masses. Lenin paid due consideration to the complicated intertwining of class forces in the country as expressed in the dual power and directed the Party to the winning of the masses by extensive, patient explanations that exposed the counter-revolutionary character of the bourgeois Provisional Government and the treachery of the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s. The main political line of the Bolsheviks was that of gaining a majority in the Soviets in order to change the policy of those bodies and through them change the composition and policy of the government. This was a programme for the peaceful development of the revolution. A discussion arose within the Party around the *April Theses*. There was a very stubborn struggle between Lenin and the Right opportunist group headed by L. Kamenev who, like the Mensheviks, believed that Russia was not ripe for a socialist revolution. In the middle of April the *Theses* were supported by a city conference of the Petrograd Bolsheviks and by other Party organizations. The *April Theses* served as a basis for the decisions of the Seventh All-Russian (April) Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (B.) that elaborated the Party policy on all the main problems of war and revolution; they were the decisions on the war, on the Provisional Government, on the Soviets, on the agrarian and national questions, etc.

The Bolsheviks mobilized the masses for the socialist revolution with the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" This was done by means of tremendous propaganda activities in the Soviets,

trade unions, factory committees, in towns, in the army and in the rural areas, by winning over the masses of the working population to their side, by training them politically and by creating the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry as the decisive force in the struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution. In the course of the class struggle it was essential that the slogans of the Bolshevik Party become the slogans of the masses, that millions of workers, soldiers and peasants should become convinced by their own experience of the correctness of the policy of the Bolsheviks and support it in open struggle against the forces of counter-revolution. As the revolution developed the Bolsheviks were able to unite under their banners the working class, the poorer peasantry, in general, all the working masses, and in a short time build up the political army of the socialist revolution.

One of the most vital questions was that of war and peace. As soon as the fever of "revolutionary defence" (the hypocritical slogan of the defence of the revolution put forward by the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s after the February Revolution to justify a predatory war in the interests of capital) had subsided among the people and lost its widespread character, workers, soldiers and poor peasants took an increasingly active part in the struggle against the imperialist policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government. The note published by Milyukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on April 18 (May 1), on the government's determination to carry the war through to the "victorious end," evoked the indignation of the people and served to bring about open anti-government action on the part of the revolutionary masses. On April 20 and 21 (May 3 and 4) the workers and soldiers of Petrograd, and, following in their wake, those of other towns, led by the Bolsheviks, organized demonstrations under the slogans "Down with the War!" and "All Power to the Soviets!" The ferment among the masses caused a government crisis. Under pressure brought to bear by the revolutionary forces Milyukov and Guchkov were removed from the government. The political crisis of April posed the question of abolishing the dual power in all seriousness. A tense, open struggle for power between the classes was going on throughout the country. The more progressive section of the workers, led by the Bolsheviks, demanded the transfer of power to the Soviets. The bourgeoisie, headed by the Cadets, demanded the concentration of all power in the hands of the Provisional Government.



Demonstration of revolutionary units of the Petrograd garrison,
June 18 (July 1), 1917

The Mensheviks and the S.R.'s who, combined, constituted a majority in the Soviets saved the government of the capitalists by agreement to form a coalition cabinet with them. The deal resulted in the formation of the first coalition Provisional Government on May 5 (18) which was again headed by Prince Lvov. In addition to the parties of the bourgeoisie and landowners—the Cadets and Octobrists—the Mensheviks (Tsereteli, Skobelev) and the S.R.'s (Kerensky, Chernov) also participated in the government. The participation of the latter in an anti-popular government meant that the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s had gone over openly to the side of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The formation of the coalition did not change either the class nature of the government or its policy. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie made use of the "socialist" ministers to step up their counter-revolutionary activity, evoking still greater indignation among the revolutionary masses.

From May 4 (17) to May 28 (June 10), 1917, the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies was held. The S.R.'s, who had a majority at the Congress, managed to force the passage

of a resolution of confidence in the Provisional Government. Lenin spoke at the Congress. His speech and the activities of the Bolshevik delegates had a great revolutionizing effect on the rank and file of the Congress. The Bolsheviks conducted tremendous propaganda work among the working peasantry, winning them over to their side.

The First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies met on June 3 (16), 1917. The Bolshevik Party had 105 delegates at the Congress while the Mensheviks had 248 and the S.R.'s 285. The Congress, by a majority vote, adopted the resolutions of the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s, including a vote of confidence in the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, exposed at the Congress the treacherous policy of conciliation. The influence of the Bolsheviks among the masses was growing at an unbelievable pace. In the summer the Petrograd proletariat supported the Bolshevik slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" in almost full strength. On June 18 (July 1) over 400,000 Petrograd workers and soldiers took part in a demonstration under the slogans: "All Power to the Soviets!", "Down with the War!" and "Down with the Ten Cap-



Demonstration of revolutionary sailors in Petrograd, June 18, 1917

italist Ministers!" There was growing discontent with the policy of the Provisional Government among the working people throughout the country, but the Provisional Government did not deem it necessary to take the temper and demands of the people into consideration. In fulfilment of the will of the American, British, French and Russian imperialists and armed with the support of the Congress of Soviets, on June 18 (July 1) the Provisional Government launched an offensive at the front which, however, soon petered out. News of the offensive and its collapse aroused a fresh wave of resentment among the proletariat and soldiers. On July 2 (15), the July crisis of the Provisional Government set in; on July 3 (16), a spontaneous demonstration of workers and soldiers began that demanded the transfer of power to the Soviets. The Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) headed the movement of the masses in order to give the demonstration a peaceful and organized character. On July 4 (17), a peaceful demonstration was held in Petrograd in which over 500,000 people took part. By order of the Provisional Government, and with the knowledge of the Central Executive Committee, the demonstration was attacked by officers and cadets. Over 400 people were killed or wounded. The July demonstration was the last attempt on the part of the revolutionary masses to settle the question of power by peaceful means. On July 4 (17), there were demonstrations in Moscow and other towns. The Menshevik and S.R. Central Executive Committee declared the Provisional Government a "government of salvation" and recognized its unlimited authority. Then began a period of pogroms, persecution and arrests. On July 5 (18) the editorial offices and printing works of *Pravda* and the Kshesinskaya Palace, where the Central Committee and the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks had their headquarters, were raided and wrecked. On July 7 (20) an order was given for the arrest and arraignment of Lenin. Lenin had to go into hiding in the same way as he had done under the tsarist regime. Shortly after this an order was given to disband the units of the Petrograd garrison that took part in the July demonstration. On July 8 (21) Kerensky became head of the government and retained also the portfolio of the Minister of the Army and the Navy. On July 12 (27) the Provisional Government published a law introducing the death penalty at the front. A preliminary censorship was set up, some of the Bolshevik newspapers were closed down and measures were taken to dis-

arm the workers. On July 24 (August 6) the formation of the second coalition government was completed under Kerensky's leadership and included Cadets, Mensheviks and S.R.'s.

The most important political outcome of the July crisis was the abolition of dual power. The time was past when the peaceful development of the revolution had been possible. Power passed completely into the hands of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government who placed civil war on the order of the day. The treachery of the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s deprived the Soviets of all power and turned them into appendages of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government. After the July events the struggle of the workers, soldiers and peasants for the overthrow of the Provisional Government became considerably more active. The development of the revolution had entered a new phase.

Towards an Armed Insurrection

An analysis of the situation obtaining led Lenin to the conclusion that it was essential for the Bolshevik Party to adopt new tactics. Lenin provided the basis for the new tactics in a number of articles—"The Political Situation," "Three Crises," "On Slogans," "Constitutional Illusions" and others. The conclusions drawn by Lenin served as a basis for the work and decisions of the Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) held in Petrograd from July 26 to August 3 (August 8-16), 1917, and representing some 240,000 Party members. Lenin was in hiding and guided the Congress through the Central Committee; he drew up the theses for a report to the Congress on the political situation. Sverdlov reported in the name of the organizational bureau that called the Congress. An account of work done by the Central Committee and a report on the political situation were given by Stalin. The Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) pointed to the prospects of revolutionary development and adopted the Party's new tactics. The Congress directed the Party to prepare for an armed insurrection to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" that had been the Party's chief slogan in the period of dual power, was unsuitable in the new situation when the dual power had ended and the Soviets with the Menshevik and S.R. majority had been turned into appendages of the counter-revolutionary

Provisional Government. The Congress temporarily withdrew the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" The Party's economic platform was confirmed and its most important points were: confiscation of landed estates and the nationalization of all land, nationalization of the banks and big industries with workers' control over production and distribution. In its decisions the Congress paid special attention to the alliance between the working class and the poorest peasantry as the chief condition for the victory of the socialist revolution. The Congress sharply rebuffed the capitulators Bukharin and Preobrazhensky who considered that the victory of the socialist revolution was impossible in Russia. The Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) issued a manifesto to the people in which it called upon the revolutionary masses to prepare for the decisive battle with the counter-revolution.

The struggle of classes and parties for power was intensified day by day and there was a further demarcation of the belligerent forces. The bourgeoisie, headed by the Cadet Party, took the direct line of establishing an open military dictatorship in the country. For this purpose a conspiracy against the revolution was rapidly organized by General Kornilov who on July 18 (31) had been appointed Supreme Commander-in-Chief by the Provisional Government. The Kornilov putsch was actively supported by the reactionary forces of Britain, the U.S.A., France and other countries. With the aim of organizing and mobilizing all the forces of Russian counter-revolution on the orders of its chief figures (Milyukov, Kornilov, Kaledin, Rodzyanko, Purishkevich, Ryabushinsky and others) the Provisional Government called what was known as a State Conference. It was held in Moscow on August 12-15 (25-28) with the participation of the Cadets, Mensheviks, S.R.'s and other parties. The Moscow proletariat, at the call of the Bolsheviks, responded to this counter-revolutionary conference with a strike of protest in which 400,000 people took part. On August 25 (September 7) General Kornilov began his counter-revolutionary revolt by moving picked troops against revolutionary Petrograd: the 3rd Cavalry Corps, the Caucasian "Savage" Division and others. The Bolshevik Party appealed to the revolutionary masses to resist and mobilized and organized them to crush the Kornilov revolt. About 40,000 workers enlisted in the Red Guard in the course of a few days. The workers of Petrograd were supported by the garrison of the city, the sailors of the Baltic Fleet, the railway-

men, the workers of Moscow, the Donets Basin, the Urals and other industrial centres, soldiers at the front and at home and the peasants in the rural areas. Agitators were sent to the units of the 3rd Cavalry Corps and their activities resulted in Kornilov's troops refusing to move on Petrograd. The Kornilov revolt was a failure. Its defeat disorganized and weakened the counter-revolution and revealed the strength of the revolutionary forces; it increased the prestige of the Bolshevik Party and was one of the decisive stages in the Party's struggle for the revolutionary mobilization of the masses. The period of preparation for the final storm had begun, a period in which the revolutionary crisis was maturing very rapidly.

The disorganization of the railways, the shortage of food that was felt mostly in the towns and in the army, the shortage of raw materials and fuel for the factories, the serious situation in industry, financial difficulties, the growing dependence on foreign capital were all factors leading the country towards an inevitable catastrophe. Total industrial output for 1917 was 36.5 per cent lower than in 1916. In their struggle against the revolutionary proletariat the bourgeoisie began to employ mass lockouts and sabotage. Between March and August 568 factories employing over 104,000 workers were closed down. By autumn up to 50 per cent of all enterprises in the Urals, the Donets Basin and other industrial centres had ceased to function. There was widespread unemployment and the cost of living was constantly rising. The 1917 prices were 248 per cent higher (in Moscow staple foods were 836 per cent higher) and the real wages of workers were 57.4 per cent lower than in 1913. The government resorted to the issue of paper money and new loans; in 1917 paper money covered 65.5 per cent of budget expenditure—the sum total of paper money in circulation being 22,500 million rubles at the end of October 1917. At that time Russia's national debt amounted to 41,600 million rubles, of which 14,800 million rubles were owing to foreign states. In the middle of September Lenin analysed the situation in an article, "The Impending Catastrophe and How To Combat It," in which he developed the economic programme of the Bolshevik Party, a programme to save the country from the impending catastrophe by carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. In the situation of war and economic ruin obtaining in autumn 1917, the struggle of the Russian proletariat continued to grow in intensity, the forms of struggle changing radically.

The growth in the numerical strength of the trade unions and the influence of the Bolsheviks in them indicate a high degree of class-consciousness among the workers. By October 1917 the trade unions accounted for over two million factory, office and other workers, about a half of whom were in Petrograd and Moscow. In addition to the trade unions there were factory committees at all enterprises. The strike movement of the period was particularly stubborn, well organized and had well-defined political aims. Among the strikers were the Urals metalworkers, the Donets Basin miners, the Baku oil workers, the textile workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk and railwaymen. The strikes, especially in September and October, in many cases led to the alienation of the factory administration, the institution of workers' control over production and the introduction of an 8-hour working day. This showed that the working-class movement was near to the establishment of Soviet power.

The working-class movement, socialist in character, merged into a single revolutionary stream with the broad democratic movement of the peasantry. The poorest peasants mustered round the working class. According to official government statistics 440 landed estates were seized in August and 958 in September. The struggle of the peasantry for land had taken on the character of a peasant war. The majority of the soldiers went over to the side of the revolution (especially those of the Petrograd garrison and the Northern and Western fronts); the sailors of the Baltic Fleet, through their own elected body, Tsen-trobalt (Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet), announced openly in September 1917 that they did not recognize the authority of the Provisional Government and would accept no orders from them. The disintegration of the petty-bourgeois parties of conciliation began: the Socialist-Revolutionary Party split, a Left wing was formed that later, in December, developed into a separate party, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries. The liberation movement of the oppressed peoples in the non-Russian areas grew stronger; they joined the Russian people headed by the working class in the struggle for the socialist revolution.

The defeat of Kornilov marked the onset of a period of renewal and Bolshevikization of the Soviets. Before the revolt, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kronstadt, Krasnoyarsk and some other Soviets had adopted the Bolshevik position; on August 31 (Sep-

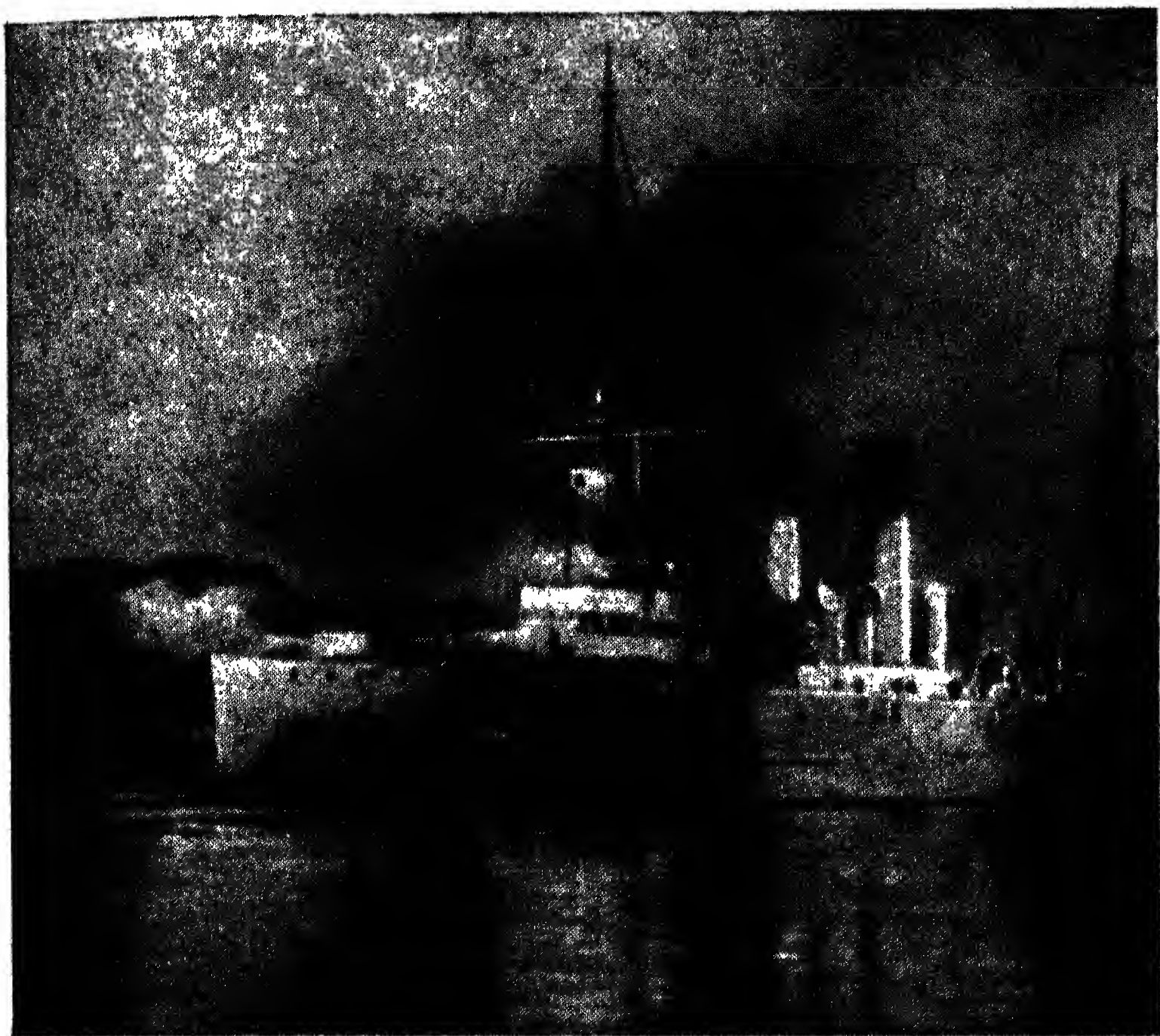
tember 13) the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies adopted a Bolshevik resolution, and on September 5 (18) the Moscow Soviet expressed itself in favour of the Bolshevik policy. Then began a period of the Bolshevization of the Soviets throughout the country—in the Urals, the Donets Basin, the Central Industrial Region, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Central Asia, etc. In one day, September 1 (14), the All-Russian Central Executive Committee received 126 demands from local Soviets to take power into its own hands. The time had come to renew the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" The content of the slogan, however, had completely changed. Under the new conditions it was a slogan of armed insurrection against the bourgeois Provisional Government with the aim of handing over power throughout the country to Soviets led by the Bolsheviks.

The Provisional Government, isolated from the masses, was in a state of permanent crisis. In an effort to retain power they declared Russia a republic as from September 1 (14) and set up a Directory (the Council of Five, headed by Kerensky) to govern the country. On account of this governmental crisis the Menshevik and S.R. Central Executive Committee called an All-Russian Democratic Conference that took place between September 14 and 22 (Sept. 27-Oct. 5), 1917, and elected from those attending a Provisional Council of the Republic (the Pre-Parliament). The Bolsheviks boycotted the Pre-Parliament in order to avoid spreading parliamentary illusions among the people and demanded the convening of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. With the aid of the Pre-Parliament, the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s tried to lessen the growing revolutionary tension and divert the country from the socialist revolution to bourgeois-constitutional, parliamentary ways of development; their efforts, however, ended in complete failure. The third and last coalition government (six capitalist and ten "socialist" ministers), set up on September 25 (October 8) as a result of a secret agreement concluded by the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s with the Cadets, met with determined protests from the Soviets. The revolutionary crisis in the country was by this time mature, the moment had come to raise the question of the seizure of power by the proletariat in alliance with the poorest peasantry.

Victory of the October Armed Uprising

In September the Bolsheviks, guided by the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress and with due consideration paid to the concrete political situation in the country after the defeat of the Kornilov revolt, began immediate preparations for an armed insurrection. Lenin, who was compelled to remain in hiding on account of continued persecution by the Provisional Government, sent letters that made history to the Central Committee, the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the R.S.D.L.P. (B.) —“The Bolsheviks Must Take Power” and “Marxism and Insurrection”—in which he elaborated a concrete plan of preparation for the armed uprising and its fulfilment. “To be successful,” said Lenin, “insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon a *revolutionary upsurge of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon such a *crucial moment* in the history of the growing revolution, when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemy and *in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest. That is the third point.” All these conditions obtained and the success of the insurrection depended on the political and organizational work of the Party and on the correctness of its tactics. On September 15 (28) Lenin’s letters were discussed by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. In the latter half of September and early October Party conferences in the main centres of the country and regional and gubernia congresses of Soviets were held, all of which favoured the struggle to transfer all power to the Soviets.

On October 7 (20) Lenin returned illegally to Petrograd from Finland. On October 10 (23) Lenin guided the historic meeting of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (B.) that discussed the question of the armed insurrection. Despite the active opposition of Kamenev and Zinoviev a resolution was adopted to launch an armed insurrection within the next few days. At this meeting the Central Committee set up its Political Bureau, headed by Lenin. On October 12 (25) the Military Revolutionary Committee (M.R.C.) of the Petrograd Sovlet was formed as the legal body preparing for the uprising. On October 16 (29) there was an extended meeting of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (B.) at which leading Petrograd Party workers, rep-



The cruiser *Aurora*, October 1917

representatives of trade unions and military organizations were present to discuss the question of preparing an armed insurrection. This extended meeting approved the decision on the armed insurrection taken by the Central Committee on October 10 (23). From the membership of the Central Committee a Military Revolutionary Party Centre was set up consisting of A. S. Bubnov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, Y. M. Sverdlov, J. V. Stalin and M. S. Uritsky. This Party Centre formed part of the M.R.C. of the Petrograd Soviet and was its guiding core. Members of the Central Committee's military organization—V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, N. V. Krylenko, N. I. Podvoisky, G. I. Chudnovsky, K. S. Yeremeyev, with P. E. Lazimir and others from the Left S. R.'s—conducted active work in the M.R.C. The entire work of the Party in preparing and carrying out the armed insurrection was inspired and directed by Lenin.

On October 18 (31) Kamenev and Zinoviev published, in the Menshevik newspaper *New Life* (*Novaya Zhizn*), an announce-

viets it was planned to attack and occupy Smolny Institute where the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks and the M.R.C. had their headquarters; all counter-revolutionary forces in Petrograd were mustered and troops on whom the Provisional Government thought they could rely were recalled from the front. However, an attempt to implement this plan met with failure. On October 24 (November 6), when the Provisional Government tried to close down the chief Bolshevik paper *Workers' Path* (*Rabochy Put*), as *Pravda* was called in that period, they met with a strong rebuff.

That same day the armed insurrection began in Petrograd. By evening Red Guards and the revolutionary soldiers and sailors had control of all the bridges across the Neva (except Palace Bridge) and of important points within the city; they also occupied the approaches to Petrograd, blocking the way to the counter-revolutionary troops recalled from the front. The Provisional Government, isolated from the masses, was unable to offer any serious resistance to the forces of revolution. That night Lenin moved to Smolny from the apartment in which he had been living illegally and took over direct leadership of the armed uprising. By the morning of October 25 (November 7)



Petrograd Red Guards at the gates of Smolny Institute,
October 1917

the following points had been occupied: the Central Post-Office, the Nikolayevsky, Warsaw and Baltic railway stations, the power station, the State Bank, the central telephone exchange and chief government offices. The Winter Palace, General Headquarters, the Mariinsky Palace and some other points were still in the hands of the Provisional Government.

At 10 a.m. on October 25 (November 7) the Military Revolutionary Committee published a manifesto on the victory of the revolution addressed "To the Citizens of Russia!" This historic document, written by Lenin, said:

"The Provisional Government has been overthrown. State power has passed into the hands of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies that stands at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

"The cause for which the people have been fighting—the immediate proposal of a democratic peace, the abolition of the landlord system of land tenure, workers' control of production and the formation of a Soviet Government—that cause is fully assured.

"Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!"

On October 25 (November 7), at Smolny Institute, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened at 10.45 p.m. and in the name of the working people announced the transfer of state power to the Soviets. At 2 a.m. on October 26 (November 8) the Winter Palace was taken by storm and the Provisional Government arrested. On October 26 (November 8) the Congress of Soviets, having heard Lenin's report, passed the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land. In the Decree on Peace, Soviet power proposed to all belligerents to start immediate negotiations on the conclusion of a just, democratic peace. The Decree on Land abolished the landlord system of land tenure; the landed estates, the estates of the royal family, the monasteries and the church, together with their farm implements, cattle and draught animals, buildings and all other property, were to be handed over to the peasants without recompense. Private ownership of land was abolished in perpetuity and all land became the property of the people. The peasants were provided with more than 150 million dessiatines of confiscated land for their use rent free and were also freed from the payment of rent to the landlords amounting to 700 million gold rubles a

year. The Decree on Land strengthened the foundations of the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry. The Congress elected an All-Russian Central Executive Committee and formed the first Soviet Government, the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Lenin. The newly formed government set to work to organize the Soviet state, a state of a new type, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Counter-revolutionary forces headed by Kerensky who had fled to the Northern Front on October 25 (November 7) raised a revolt for the purpose of overthrowing Soviet power. Units of the 3rd Cavalry Corps under General Krasnov launched an attack against revolutionary Petrograd. On October 27-28 (November 9-10) they occupied Gatchina and Tsarskoye Selo and approached Pulkovo Heights; this constituted a direct threat to the capital. In Petrograd itself the White Guards formed a "Committee To Save the Country and the Revolution," under the leadership of which officer cadets raised a revolt in the city on October 29 (November 11) that was suppressed by Soviet forces that same day. On October 31 (November 13) revolutionary troops pushed the Kerensky-Krasnov forces back from Pulkovo to Gatchina and compelled them to cease resistance on November 1 (14). Krasnov was taken prisoner but Kerensky escaped. On November 20 (Dec. 3), 1917, revolutionary forces mopped up the headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, General Dukhonin, at Mogilev, which had been the centre of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy. The first Soviet Commander-in-Chief to be appointed was N. V. Krylenko, a member of the Bolshevik Party. At this time, also, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government defeated the efforts of the All-Russian Executive Committee of the Union of Railway Employees to implement their proposal for a "uniform socialist government," i.e., a coalition government that included the Mensheviks and Right S.R.'s who had been struggling actively against the October Revolution. The position of this body found support among some of the members of the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Party (Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, Nogin and others) but the Central Committee as a whole condemned their position and they resigned from the Central Committee and the government. Y. M. Sverdlov was elected Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in place of L. Kamenev.

Soviet Power's Triumphant March

The establishment of Soviet power in the capital and the historic decisions of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets marked the beginning of the triumphal march of Soviet power through the entire country.

Following the victory of the armed insurrection in Petrograd on October 25 (November 7) a similar uprising began in Moscow. A Party Military Centre (M. F. Vladimirsky, V. N. Podbelsky, O. A. Pyatnitsky and others) and a Military Revolutionary Committee (V. P. Nogin, P. G. Smidovich, G. A. Usiyevich and others) were formed to guide the insurrection. A complicated and difficult situation had developed in Moscow. The revolutionary forces met with the fierce opposition of organized counter-revolution headed by Colonel Ryabtsev, who commanded the Moscow military district. Heavy fighting lasted for several days. Red Guards from Petrograd, sailors of the Baltic Fleet, Red Guards from Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Shuya headed by M. V. Frunze and Red Guards from other towns came to the aid of the Moscow proletariat. On November 2 (15) the counter-revolution capitulated. During the night of November 2 (15) the Kremlin was captured and Soviet power was established in Moscow.

Between October 25 and 27 (November 7-9) Soviet power was established in Minsk, Kronstadt, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Lugansk, Kazan, Rostov-on-Don, Yekaterinburg, Reval, Samara and Saratov; on November 1 (14) in Tashkent, on October 31 (November 13) in Baku and on November 18 (December 1) in Vladivostok. Power passed into the hands of the Soviets in 17 gubernia capitals between October 25 and 31 (November 7-13) and by the end of November in 28 gubernia capitals and in all the important industrial centres in the country and on the main fronts.

The revolution, begun at the centre, spread unhindered throughout the country, overcoming the savage resistance of the defeated exploiting classes. The heart of the socialist revolution was Central Russia with its industrial, cultural and political centres at Petrograd and Moscow with a population homogeneous in character but mainly Russian. The great Russian people played the leading and decisive role in the establishment and strengthening of Soviet power at the centre and in the localities. With the Russian working class in the lead the numerous

peoples and nationalities of Russia fought selflessly against social and national oppression, for the establishment of Soviet power. Soviet power was confronted with tremendous difficulties, especially in the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, Kazakhstan and other non-Russian areas. The social and economic backwardness of those regions, the weakness of the local proletariat and the Bolshevik organizations, the complicated relationships between nationalities, made the struggle for Soviet power a more difficult one. The united



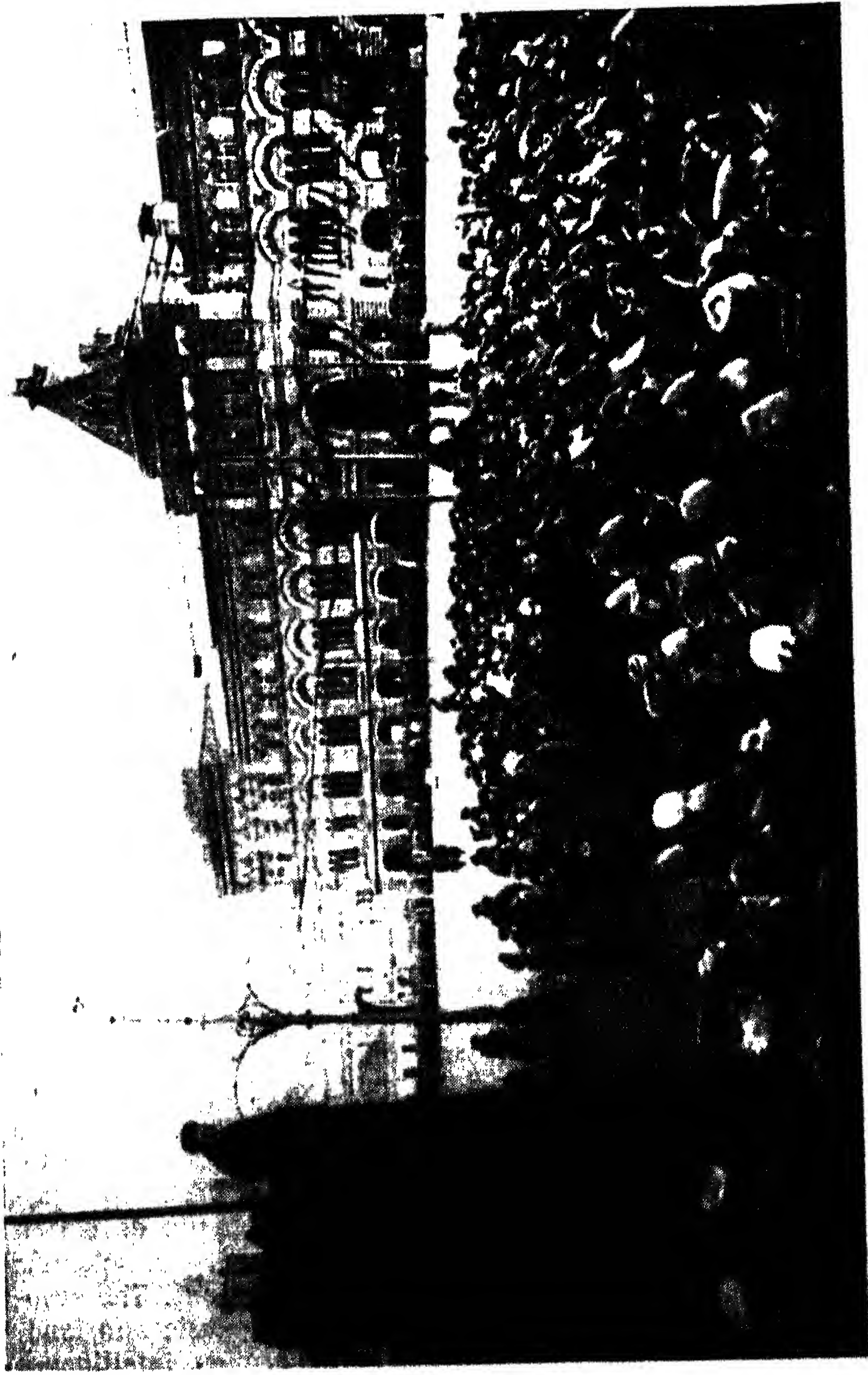
Capture of the Kremlin, Moscow 1917

attack of all the peoples of Russia against internal and external enemies of the revolution was ensured by the correct policy of the Communist Party. On November 2 (15) the Soviet Government published the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia which liberated the peoples of Russia from national oppression and declared the equality and sovereignty of all peoples, the right of the peoples to free self-determination up to and including secession and the formation of an independent state, the abolition of national and religious privileges and restrictions and the free development of national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia. On November 20 (December 3) the Council of People's Commissars addressed a manifesto to "All Working Moslems of Russia and the East" in which it was announced to the oppressed peoples that all unequal treaties were annulled and the policy of oppression abolished; it appealed to them to support the gains of the socialist revolution and establish Soviet power. In a manifesto addressed to the Ukrainian

people on December 3 (16) the Soviet Government recognized the Ukraine's right to independence and on December 18 (31) Finland's independence was recognized. The Ukrainian people followed the example of the Russian people and entered the path of socialist revolution. On December 11 (24) the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets declared Soviet power in the Ukraine and laid the foundations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Russian people afforded great help to the Ukrainian and other fraternal peoples in the struggle for Soviet power.

The forces of counter-revolution in several parts of the country continued their resistance. From November 1917 to March 1918 Red Guard contingents from Moscow and Petrograd, sailors from the Baltic and workers from the Donets Basin, Rostov, Kharkov and other Ukrainian towns put an end to the revolt of Ataman Kaledin on the Don and crushed the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Central Rada (Council). In December 1917 and January 1918, Petrograd and Urals Red Guards suppressed the revolt of Ataman Dutov in the Southern Urals. Russian workers helped the peoples of Central Asia establish Soviet power. Between October 1917 and February 1918 Soviet power spread throughout the tremendous territory of Russia and was victorious in the central gubernias, in the Ukraine, the Baltic gubernias, Byelorussia, the North Caucasus, Siberia, Central Asia and other parts of the country.

The Great October Socialist Revolution overthrew the power of the capitalists and landowners, established the dictatorship of the proletariat, abolished capitalism on one-sixth of the earth's land surface, the exploitation of man by man and social and national oppression and opened up the way for the victorious building of socialism and communism. The inspirer and organizer of the historical victory of the October Socialist Revolution was the Communist Party headed by Lenin, the Party whose actions were based on a knowledge of the laws of social development and which proved able to unite in one revolutionary stream such varied revolutionary movements as the common democratic peace movement, the democratic peasant movement for the seizure of landed estates, the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples for national equality and the socialist movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The leader and chief motive force of the revolution



Lenin speaking on Red Square, Moscow, November 7, 1918

was the Russian proletariat. The Party organized the alliance of the working class and the poorest peasantry as the deciding force in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. The relatively swift and easy victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution is to be explained by the fact that it was opposed by the rather weak, poorly organized and politically inexperienced Russian bourgeoisie. The revolution, furthermore, began at a time when the imperialist war was still being fought, when the capitalist world was split into two hostile camps and when the imperialist powers, at war with each other, had no opportunity to intervene seriously in the struggle against the revolution. The working-class and common democratic movement in both East and West and the profound sympathy and active support of the working people of all countries were of great significance for the victory of the revolution.

The October Revolution breached the front of world imperialism and opened up a new era in human history, the era of the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and communism. The victory of the revolution was a turning-point in the history of mankind, a turn from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world. As a result of the revolution the world was split into two systems, socialism and capitalism, which deepened the general crisis of capitalism. The Soviet revolution opened the epoch of proletarian revolutions in the capitalist countries and national-liberation revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries. The October Revolution laid down the highway to socialism for the peoples of all countries.

The Struggle for the Consolidation of Soviet Power

The basic task of the socialist revolution was the building of a Soviet socialist state capable of suppressing the resistance of the deposed exploiting classes, of repulsing the attacks of foreign imperialists, defending the gains of the October Revolution and organizing socialist construction. In elaborating a programme for the building of the Soviet state as the main weapon in the struggle to transform economically backward Russia into a powerful, advanced socialist state, Lenin developed the teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on scientific communism in accordance with the new conditions. The revolution, in overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and landowners, had destroyed their state with its armies, intelligence

service, police apparatus, courts, civil service, etc. In so doing it had deprived the deposed exploiting classes and their parties of the most powerful weapon in the struggle for the restoration of the old order.

The Soviet Government, formed at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets under the leadership of the Communist Party, took the lead in building up a new state of workers and peasants, a state such as was never before known to history. In its work the Soviet Government was supported by the Soviets, the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by the soldiers', military revolutionary, and factory committees, by the trade unions, Red Guard contingents, revolutionary regiments and by the tremendous revolutionary creative energy of the workers, soldiers, peasants and working intelligentsia. On December 7 (20), 1917, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) of the Council of People's Commissars was formed under Felix Dzerzhinsky to struggle against counter-revolution and sabotage; on November 22 (December 5), the Decree on the Courts was signed. The Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of December 16 (29) democratized the old army; all authority in the army was transferred to the Soldiers' Committees and the Soviets and all posts of command were made elective; all the old ranks, titles and orders were abolished. On January 15 (28), 1918, a decree was passed on the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and on February 1 (14) (date of publication) on the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Navy. The formation, on a volunteer basis, of the armed forces of the socialist state was begun.

Soviet power abolished the last vestiges of feudal relations, social estates and inequality in all branches of social life. Simultaneously with the abolition of the landlord system of land tenure as the basis for the retention of vestiges of feudalism, decrees were published on the abolition of the social estates and the establishment of uniform citizenship (November 10 [23]), on equality of women and civil marriage (December 18 [31]), on the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church (January 23 [February 5]), 1918, and others.

In the economic field Soviet power began to effect a socialist transformation. Following the nationalization of the land, which was made the property of the people, workers' control over production and distribution was introduced on November 14 (27), 1917. As early as October 25 (November 7) the State Bank

passed into the hands of Soviet power. In November and the following months the so-called government enterprises (Obukhov, Baltic, Izhora and other factories) and those private enterprises whose owners had begun to sabotage the Decree on Workers' Control and who refused to co-operate with Soviet power were nationalized. For the guidance of economic life the Supreme Economic Council (S.E.C.) was formed on December 2 (15), and on December 14 (27) the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted a decree nationalizing private banks, thus depriving the bourgeoisie of another powerful weapon.

On January 5 (18), 1918, the Constituent Assembly was convened; it had been elected in November on Party lists drawn up before the October Revolution. The composition of the Assembly was not a reflection of the new ratio of class forces in the country; the counter-revolutionary majority refused to recognize Soviet power, refused to approve the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People and the Decrees on Peace and Land. On January 6 (19) it was dissolved by a decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Of great significance in consolidating the gains of the October Revolution was the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets



Meeting of the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Petrograd,
January 10-18 (23-31), 1918

that sat from January 10 to January 18 (23-31), 1918. At the same time the Third All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies was convened and on January 13 (26) the two congresses were joined. The merging of the congresses accelerated the uniting of Soviets of Peasant Deputies and Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in all parts of the country, which strengthened the political basis of the Soviet state, the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the alliance of the workers and toiling peasants with the working class retaining the leadership. The Congress adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, drawn up by Lenin, that declared Russia a Republic of Soviets, gave legal strength to the Soviets as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and fixed the main objectives of Soviet power—the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the abolition of the division of society into classes, the ruthless suppression of the exploiters, the introduction of the socialist organization of society and the building of socialism. A decision on the "Federal Institutions of the Russian Republic" was adopted. The Congress formed the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.).

For the purpose of freeing the country of its state of slavish financial dependency a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (January 21 [February 3], 1918) annulled all the foreign and internal loans floated by the tsarist government and the bourgeois Provisional Government. Foreign trade and transport were nationalized (April 22, 1918).

The nationalization of industry was gradually prepared. During the first six months of 1918 more than 1,530 enterprises were nationalized. On June 28, 1918, the Soviet Government, implementing the programme of the Communist Party, issued a decree nationalizing all big industries. The working class and all working people displayed the greatest creative initiative and revolutionary energy in the socialist reconstruction of the national economy. The expropriation of the means of production in industry and their conversion into national property were in themselves a revolution that put an end to the old, capitalist method of production by destroying its very foundations and introduced a socialist production sector of the national economy into industry in which capitalist production relations were replaced by relations of a socialist character. The socialization of the means of production in agriculture involved between 15 and 16 million peasant farms and could not be done at

once. The nationalization of the land and the socialization of the means of production in industry provided the conditions necessary for the gradual transition of millions of toiling peasants on to the road of socialism.

Side by side with the revolutionary changes that took place in the political and economic life of the country, Soviet power effected tremendous changes in the sphere of culture. A culture began to grow up that was national in form and socialist in content. Soviet power made schools, universities, libraries, theatres and museums available to the people; extensive work was done to eliminate illiteracy among the adult population. The press, literature, art and all the achievements of science and culture were made to serve the needs of the communist education and training of the working people.

The very first measures adopted by Soviet power seriously undermined the power of the bourgeoisie, landowners, reactionary civil servants and counter-revolutionary parties, broke the economic might of the deposed exploiters and guaranteed that all positions of command would be held by Soviet power. The decisions adopted by the Soviet Government in the economic, political and cultural fields revealed immediately and with conviction the genuinely popular character of Soviet power that defended no other interests than those of the working people.

The situation of the Soviet Republic could not be considered sound while the country was still in a state of war with Germany and her allies. From its very inception the Soviet Government began the struggle for peace, and a peace policy became the unchanging foundation of all its subsequent foreign policy. British, French and American ruling circles did not accept the peace proposals made by the Soviet Government. Despite the numerous appeals made by the Council of People's Commissars to the Entente governments to open peace negotiations the Paris Conference of the Entente on November 15 (28), 1917, came to an agreement on intervention in Soviet Russia for the purpose of overthrowing Soviet power. On December 10 (23) the French and British imperialists came to an agreement on the division of Russia into spheres of influence.

On November 22 (December 5) the Soviet Government, obeying the will of the people, signed an armistice with Germany at Brest-Litovsk, and on December 9 (22) negotiations were begun on a peace treaty with Germany and her allies. The far-

reaching expansionist plans of German imperialism were revealed during the peace negotiations. The Soviet Government was forced to accept unfavourable peace terms in order to get a breathing space, to consolidate Soviet power and organize the Red Army. Trotsky's followers, the "Left" Communists, the "Left" S.R.'s and others were against the conclusion of a peace treaty. Trotsky, who headed the Soviet delegation to Brest-Litovsk, disobeyed the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government in refusing to sign the peace terms; on February 10 (23), 1918, the peace negotiations were interrupted. On February 18 the German command took advantage of this to launch an offensive along the whole front. The old army withdrew, the new army was still in the process of formation. German troops occupied the Baltic countries, a large part of Byelorussia, invaded the Ukraine and constituted a threat to Petrograd. A grave danger hung over the Soviet Republic.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government called on the people to repulse the attacks of the invaders. On February 21* the Council of People's Commissars published a manifesto "The Socialist Fatherland Is in Danger!" The Soviet people rose to fight against the German imperialists. The enemy's offensive directed against Petrograd was checked by the heroic resistance of Red Guard contingents and the first units of the young Red Army. February 23, 1918, was the birthday of the Red Army. The German imperialists consented to a reopening of peace negotiations. On March 3, 1918, the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty was signed. Under that treaty Russia lost territory 150,000 sq. km. in extent (Poland, a considerable part of the Baltic countries, the Ukraine, etc.); the Republic was compelled to demobilize its army. Under a special agreement concluded on August 27, 1918, Soviet Russia was to pay Germany several thousand million marks. This was a hard peace but a necessary one under prevailing conditions. The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party (March 6-8, 1918) approved the Leninist line on the question of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty and condemned the position adopted by Trotsky and the "Left" Communists. The Extraordinary Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets was held in Moscow where the Soviet Government

* The Gregorian calendar was introduced by a Government decree on February 14, 1918.—Tr.

had been transferred from Petrograd on March 10 and 11; on March 15, 1918, the Congress ratified the peace treaty.

The Soviet Republic obtained a peaceful respite in which to develop socialist construction. In an historic paper entitled "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" published in April 1918 Lenin elaborated a programme for launching socialist construction. Lenin considered the most urgent tasks for the entire people to be: the organization of accounting and control on a national scale, a struggle for raising the productivity of labour, the organization of socialist emulation, the inculcation of a new, proletarian discipline, the establishment of one-man management in factories and a guarantee of the profitability of enterprises. In those days Lenin wrote: "We have the material, in natural resources, in the reserves of human strength and in the wonderful scale of popular creative effort provided by the great Revolution to build up a Russia that is truly mighty and abundant."

In the rural areas at that period the policy of Soviet power was to implement the agrarian transformation engendered by the October Revolution. A fierce class struggle against the kulaks broke out in the countryside in the spring of 1918 owing to the kulak opposition to Soviet power. The struggle against the kulaks in order to organize the regular supply of bread for the country gained great significance. "The struggle for bread is the struggle for socialism," said Lenin. On June 11, 1918, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted a decree on the organization of Committees of the Poor in the villages. Food detachments drawn from advanced workers in Moscow, Petrograd and other towns were sent to the countryside. Some 50 million hectares of land were taken away from the kulaks and given to poor and middle peasants and grain surpluses were confiscated for the supply of the towns, the Red Army and the village poor. An economic and political blow was struck at the kulaks. The material position of the poor working peasantry was improved and the process of raising their level to that of middle peasants had begun. From the summer of 1918 onwards the middle peasant was the central figure of the rural areas. The Committees of the Poor became the chief support of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the villages. The measures adopted led to the further development and extension of the socialist revolution in the rural areas and were of tremendous political value in winning the middle peasant over to

the side of Soviet power and helped to consolidate the alliance of the working class and the peasantry with a consequent strengthening of Soviet power.

The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets held between July 4 and July 10, 1918, adopted the first Soviet Constitution, the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R., that gave legal form to the Soviet socialist state and social system engendered by the Great October Socialist Revolution. This was the first genuinely democratic constitution in history and it served as an example to be followed in drawing up the constitutions of the fraternal Soviet socialist republics.

FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION AND THE CIVIL WAR (1918-1920)

Beginning of the Military Intervention and the Civil War. The Soviet Republic Becomes a Single Armed Camp

The victory and consolidation of Soviet power and the implementation of revolutionary economic measures aroused savage hatred towards the Soviet system on the part of the bourgeoisie abroad, the deposed exploiting classes and the counter-revolutionary parties in Russia whose objective was the overthrow of Soviet power and the re-establishment of the old bourgeois-landowner system. With this aim in view a coalition of anti-Soviet forces was formed early in 1918, a coalition of foreign imperialists and internal counter-revolution. Ruling circles in America, Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan gave all possible assistance to the White Guards and launched their military intervention. The Soviet people conducted a just patriotic war against numerous external and internal enemies. The Bolshevik Party and its Central Committee headed by Lenin took the leadership in all matters concerning the defence of the Republic and the mobilization of forces to destroy the enemies of Soviet power.

In January 1918 Rumanian troops occupied Bessarabia. In March, British, American and French troops, with the help of the White Guards, occupied Murmansk and then Kem and Onega, and in August entered Arkhangelsk. A White Guard "government of North Russia" was set up. In April the Japanese landed their troops in Vladivostok. They were immediately fol-

lowed in the Soviet Far East by invasions of American, British, French and Italian troops. On May 25 there began a mutiny of the Czech Corps that had been prepared by the Entente imperialists. This Corps was formed in Russia in 1916 and 1917 from among Austrian prisoners of war of Czech and Slovak nationality. The Soviet Government had given permission for the Corps to be transferred to Western Europe through Siberia and the Far East. The Corps command, under pressure brought to bear by the imperialists and White Guards, deceived the soldiers into an anti-Soviet gamble. Large numbers of White Guards were added to the Corps, the total strength of which was between 40,000 and 50,000. Between May and August the mutineers seized Samara, Kazan, Simbirsk, Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk and other points along the Transsiberian Railway as far as Vladivostok (June 29). The mutiny was a signal for greater activity on the part of the internal counter-revolution. There were kulak uprisings on the Volga, in the Urals and in Siberia; a section of the middle peasantry was involved in these revolts. A huge territory, with a large population, important industrial, food and raw material resources, fell into the hands of the enemies of Soviet power. In these areas the White Guards re-established the bourgeois-landowner system and set up a reign of terror. A White Guard-S.R. "government" was formed in Samara and was known as the Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly; in Omsk there was a White Guard Siberian "government," in Yekaterinburg a Urals "government," etc. These and other White Guard "governments" prepared the way for the establishment, in November 1918, of a White Guard military dictatorship under Admiral Kolchak who was declared the "Supreme Ruler of Russia." Actually he was the placeman of the Entente. At the beginning of July 1918, White Cossack bands under Ataman Dutov seized Orenburg and temporarily cut Soviet Turkestan off from the centre. British troops invaded the Transcaspian area and Baku and, with the aid of local bourgeois-nationalist counter-revolutionaries, overthrew Soviet power in Azerbaijan and Transcaspia. Twenty-six Baku commissars, headed by S. Shaumyan, M. Azizbekov and P. Japaridze, were captured by the British and were taken to Transcaspia and shot (September 20, 1918). In the spring and summer of 1918 the White Guard generals, Kornilov, Denikin and Alexeyev, with the aid of the Entente imperialists, organized a White Guard "volunteer" army in the North Caucasus and

launched a campaign against Soviet power. Generals Krasnov and Mamontov, with the aid of the German invaders, raised a counter-revolutionary revolt on the Don and led the White Cossack attack on Tsaritsyn. German troops, who had Poland, Finland, the Baltic countries and Byelorussia under their control, completed the occupation of the Ukraine and the Crimea, invaded the territory of the R.S.F.S.R., seized Rostov-on-Don and Taganrog and, together with Turkish units, invaded the Transcaucasus. At the beginning of May 1918, German occupation troops, together with Finnish White Guards, suppressed the workers' revolution in Finland. The internal and external counter-revolution organized a series of conspiracies and revolts in Moscow, Petrograd and in dozens of towns in the Upper and Lower Volga area; acts of terror were committed.

At the time when the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets was in session an anti-Soviet revolt of the "Left" S.R.'s was raised in Moscow (July 6, 1918) but was suppressed the next day. On July 6, in order to provoke a war with Germany, conspirators assassinated W. Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Moscow. A White Guard and S.R. revolt broke out in Yaroslavl on July 6 and was cleaned up by July 21. Counter-revolutionary revolts were also suppressed in Rybinsk, Kostroma and other towns. On August 30 the S.R.'s made a dastardly attempt on the life of Lenin. On that same day M. Uritsky, Chairman of the Petrograd Cheka, was assassinated. The anti-Soviet activities of the internal counter-revolution were directed by officials of the embassies and missions of Great Britain, the U.S.A., France and several other countries. Evidence of this, for example, was the serious conspiracy against Soviet power discovered in August 1918, that was prepared by R. Bruce Lockhart, head of the British Mission.

By the summer of 1918 three-quarters of the country was in the hands of the foreign interventionists and the White Guards. The Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Urals, Siberia and the Far East were all occupied and Central Asia was cut off from the centre. The Soviet Republic was encircled by a ring of fire. The country resembled a beleaguered fortress cut off from the main supplies of food, raw materials and fuel. The country experienced a shortage of food, arms and clothing. The regular Red Army was still in process of formation. The armies of the imperialist countries and the hordes of White Guards were attacking the Soviet Republic from all directions.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government mobilized all forces and resources to repulse the enemy and reorganized all economic, cultural and political life, turning the country into a single armed camp. Lenin put forward the slogan: "Everything for the Front!"

Universal military training for all men between the ages of 18 and 40 had been introduced as early as April 22, 1918, under a decree of the Central Executive Committee. A decision passed by the Central Executive Committee on May 29, 1918, and approved by the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918, introduced compulsory military service in the Red Army in place of the former voluntary service. This provided a sound basis for the formation of a mass regular Red Army. On September 2, 1918, the Central Executive Committee declared the Soviet Republic a military camp and instituted the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. The Workers' and Peasants' Defence Council was set up on November 30, 1918, under the chairmanship of Lenin. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants joined the Red Army. By the autumn of 1918 over 800,000 men had been mobilized. About half the membership of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League went to the front as volunteers and by their selfless devotion to duty inspired millions of Soviet people in the struggle against the enemy. The Communist commissars played an important role in the political education of the Red Army and in improving its fighting potential and discipline.

In the summer and autumn of 1918 the following fronts took shape: the Eastern (in June; it was the main front at that time), Southern and Northern (September). The Red Army gained its first big victories over the forces of the interventionists and White Guards as early as the latter half of 1918. In the course of hard-fought battles the troops of the Eastern Front (Commander-in-Chief I. I. Vatsetis, Member of the Military Council S. I. Gusev) liberated Kazan on September 10, Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk) on September 12, Samara (now Kuibyshev) on October 7, and launched a successful offensive in the direction of Ufa. There was extremely stubborn fighting on the Southern Front where the 8th and 9th armies were operating in the Voronezh direction, defending the central regions of the country from the attacks of the White Cossacks. In August and October the 10th Army of the Southern Front under the leadership of J. V. Stalin and K. Y. Voroshilov

repulsed the two offensives launched by Krasnov's White Guard armies against Tsaritsyn (now Stalingrad). In the North Caucasus the 11th Army fought against the White Guard Volunteer Army. The troops of the Northern Front (commanded by M. Kedrov) succeeded in checking the enemy offensive against Kotlas and Vologda at the beginning of September. The Sixth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets held between November 6 and 9, 1918, addressed to the governments of the countries fighting against Russia a proposal to begin negotiations for the conclusion of peace. The Congress also took a decision to abolish the Committees of the Poor that had fulfilled the task for which they were formed and elect new Soviets.

In the autumn of 1918 the international situation underwent a significant change. In November 1918 the First World War ended in the defeat of Germany and her allies. A revolution in Germany overthrew the monarchy. In the West and in the East there was a widespread movement in support of the Soviet Republic. The mighty revolutionary wave that swept over Europe and Asia was an important ally of the Soviet Republic. On November 13, 1918, the Central Executive Committee annulled the Brest Treaty. This was immediately followed by the expulsion of the German occupants from the Ukraine, Crimea, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries where Soviet power was re-established. In November 1918 the Soviet Government of the Ukraine was formed. On January 1, 1919, the Soviet Government of Byelorussia was formed and Byelorussia was declared a Soviet Socialist Republic. On November 29, 1918, Soviet power was restored in Estonia and the Estland Labour Commune was formed. Soviet power was victorious in Lithuania on December 16, 1918, and in Latvia on December 17. On December 25 the Central Executive Committee of the R.S.F.S.R. adopted a decision to recognize the state independence of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Entente countries, having ended the First World War in November 1918 by the defeat of Germany and her allies, began to step up their intervention in the Soviet Republic. British and French troops took the place of the German troops in the Ukraine and the Transcaucasus. In November and December they landed troops in Odessa, Sevastopol and other southern ports. The interventionist troops in the south numbered 130,000 men. In the North Caucasus, the 11th Army, after an heroic resistance, was defeated and had to withdraw on Astrakhan. The

vessels of the British, United States and French navies entered the Baltic. Fresh contingents of imperialist troops were dispatched to Murmansk, Arkhangelsk and the Far East. The western countries organized a blockade of the Soviet Republic. In December 1918 Kolchak's White Guard Army launched an offensive against Perm on the Eastern Front. This was an attempt to join up with the interventionist troops advancing from Arkhangelsk in order to strike simultaneously at Moscow and Petrograd. Kolchak's forces, by then numerically superior and opposed only by the 3rd Red Army that had been severely battered during its long, heroic resistance, entered Perm on December 24. The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), together with local Party and Soviet organizations, took the necessary measures to improve the fighting potential of the 3rd Army. In the meantime the other armies of the Eastern Front launched a successful offensive against Kolchak—the 5th Army occupied Ufa, the 1st and 4th armies liberated Orenburg and Uralsk and the 2nd Army advanced on Kungur; in January the 3rd Army launched its offensive against Perm. The enemy's far-reaching plans were defeated.

The country prepared for a long and stubborn struggle against the intervention and the White Guards. In October 1918 Lenin had said: "We had decided to build up an army of 1,000,000 by spring and now we need an army of 3,000,000. We can have them. And *we shall have them.*"

For the further consolidation of the hinterland and the mobilization of all forces and resources to serve the front, the Soviet Government, in 1918 and 1919, took a series of extraordinary political and economic measures that have gone down in history as War Communism. Soviet power had concentrated in its own hands all big industrial concerns and now took under its control medium and small enterprises, introduced a monopoly in the sale of bread, forbade private trading and introduced the compulsory delivery to the state of all surplus grain in possession of the peasants for the supply of the army and the workers; ration cards for consumer goods were introduced; universal labour mobilization was introduced under which labour was made obligatory for the bourgeoisie. This system of extraordinary measures, correct for the period, was made necessary by the military intervention, the Civil War, the blockade and the exceptionally difficult conditions for the defence of the coun-



J. V. Stalin, V. I. Lenin and M. I. Kalinin at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)

try; it made possible the organization of a war economy, mobilized all resources for the needs of defence and created conditions necessary for the victory of the Soviet state over internal and external counter-revolution.

The decisions of the Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) held in March 1919 had great significance for the organization of victory. The Congress adopted a new programme of the Communist Party that had been elaborated under Lenin's guidance. The programme showed clearly the prospects of the struggle of the Soviet people for the building of socialism. The Congress, having defeated the military opposition that defended the partisan system of warfare, worked out measures that had to be taken to strengthen the Red Army as the regular army of the Soviet state, an army imbued with the spirit of strict discipline. The Congress indicated the Party's new line on the relationship of the working class to the middle peasantry. Before the Eighth Congress the Party had done everything to attract the middle peasantry to the side of the working class but the policy had been mainly one of neutralization. The Congress took the line of making an ally of the middle peasant. During the Civil War a military and political alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry had grown up. This alliance was based on the principle: the peasants obtained land and were protected from the landowners and kulaks by Soviet power and the workers obtained from the peasantry all available food supplies. The policy of the Party in

respect of the middle peasantry, drawn up by Lenin and approved by the Congress, demanded that the proletariat, while retaining the leading position in the state, should maintain a firm alliance with the middle peasantry and should rely on the poor peasants in the ruthless struggle against the kulaks. The military and political alliance of the working class and toiling peasantry was the decisive force in the defeat of the interventionists and White Guards.

On the death of Y. M. Sverdlov, in March 1919, M. I. Kalinin, whose candidacy was proposed by Lenin, was elected Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

The Defeat of the Interventionists and White Guards

In 1919 and 1920 the Entente launched three campaigns against the Soviet Republic that demanded the maximum mobilization of the forces of the Soviet people for their defeat.

The first campaign of the Entente was launched in the spring of 1919. It was a combined operation; the main force was Kolchak's 400,000-strong White Guard army supported by British, American and Japanese troops with a total strength of more



Red Army units enter Kiev, 1919

than 150,000. General Denikin's army of more than 100,000 attacked from the south. Simultaneously General Yudenich launched an offensive against Petrograd from the Baltic area. The White Polish forces in the west, British, American and French troops and White Guards in the north, foreign occupants and White Guards in Turkestan and the Transcaucasus also launched their attack on the Soviet Republic. In the spring of 1919 on all fronts the Entente countries and the White Guards concentrated up to 1,000,000 men against the Red Army. Ruling circles in Britain, the U.S.A., Japan, France and other countries generously financed and equipped the White Guard armies, especially Kolchak's army, with armaments, munitions and equipment. From the above-mentioned countries Kolchak received 700,000 rifles, 3,150 machine-guns, 530 field guns, 30 aircraft, millions of cartridges and shells, clothing and equipment for an army of 240,000 and in addition 2,000,000 pairs of boots and hundreds of thousands of sets of underwear. At the beginning of March 1919, Kolchak began an offensive along the whole 2,000-km.-long Eastern Front. By the beginning of April Kolchak had occupied the Urals and was advancing towards the Middle Volga. An extremely dangerous situation for the Soviet Republic was created. A militant programme mobilizing all forces for the struggle against Kolchak's army was laid down in the "Theses of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (B.) in Connection with the Situation on the Eastern Front" written by Lenin on April 11, 1919. The working people of the Soviet Republic with the Communist Party at their head rose up to crush the first campaign of the Entente. New units and formations of the Red Army were dispatched to the Eastern Front. Communist Party, Komsomol and trade-union mobilizations were carried out. Between April and July the armies on that front were reinforced by 110,000 commanders and men. About 20,000 Communists were sent to the front and they brought into the army the spirit of proletarian discipline and heroism in battle against the enemy.

Soviet people worked selflessly in the factories manufacturing arms and equipment for the front. One manifestation of the conscientious attitude of the working people on the Soviet home front was the communist *subbotniks* or voluntary spare-time labour, the first of which was held on April 12, 1919, at the time of the hardest struggle against Kolchak, by the Communist workers in the Moscow Marshalling Yards. On May 10 a mass



Lenin speaking on Red Square, Moscow 1919

communist *subbotnik* was carried out on the Moscow-Kazan Railway. Lenin called these first communist *subbotniks* "a great beginning." The *subbotniks* showed the new attitude of the working class towards labour, discipline and labour productivity and laid the foundations of socialist competition as a communist method of socialist construction.

The military and political union of Soviet Republics was formed during the fiercest struggle against the interventionists and the White Guards. On June 1, 1919, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee passed a decree envisaging the unification of the military and economic efforts of the Soviet Republics—R.S.F.S.R., the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia—for the struggle against external and internal enemies.

The whole of this gigantic activity of the Party and the people in organizing the defeat of the enemy was guided by the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (B.) and the Council of Defence, headed by Lenin. By the end of April the southern group of troops (Commander M. V. Frunze, member of the Military Council V. V. Kuibyshev) of the Eastern Front (Commander of the Front S. S. Kamenev, member of the Military Council

S. I. Gusev, from July 1918—Commander of the Front M. V. Frunze) launched a counter-offensive and in the course of May and June routed the enemy's main forces; during the second half of 1919 the Red Army, with the aid of the partisans, cleared the White Guards out of the Urals and a considerable part of Siberia. Attacked on the front by the Red Army and in the rear by the partisans, Kolchak's army retreated to the east, suffering losses that could not be replaced. By the end of 1919 Kolchak's army had been destroyed.

When the fighting against Kolchak's army on the Eastern Front was at its height the Finnish White Guards (April) and Yudenich's army (May) began their offensive against Petrograd. Denikin's army, after seizing the North Caucasus and a considerable part of the Don region, invaded the Donets Basin; on June 30 they occupied Tsaritsyn. The Polish White Guards seized Vilnius. At the end of June the White Finnish contingents were routed and Yudenich's army was defeated in August. The defeat of the interventionist and White Guard troops in the east and near Petrograd in the north-west, the resistance put up to Denikin's army in the south ensured the defeat of the Entente's first campaign as a whole. Of exceptional importance for the



**M. Kalinin and M. Frunze inspect troops
on the Turkestan Front, 1919**



The 25th Infantry Division, commanded by V. Chapayev, crossing the River Belaya near Ufa, June 8, 1919

further struggle against the enemy was "A Letter to the Workers and Peasants on the Victory over Kolchak" written by Lenin on August 24, 1919, which pointed out the main lessons to be learned from the experience of the fighting against Kolchak's White Guard army.

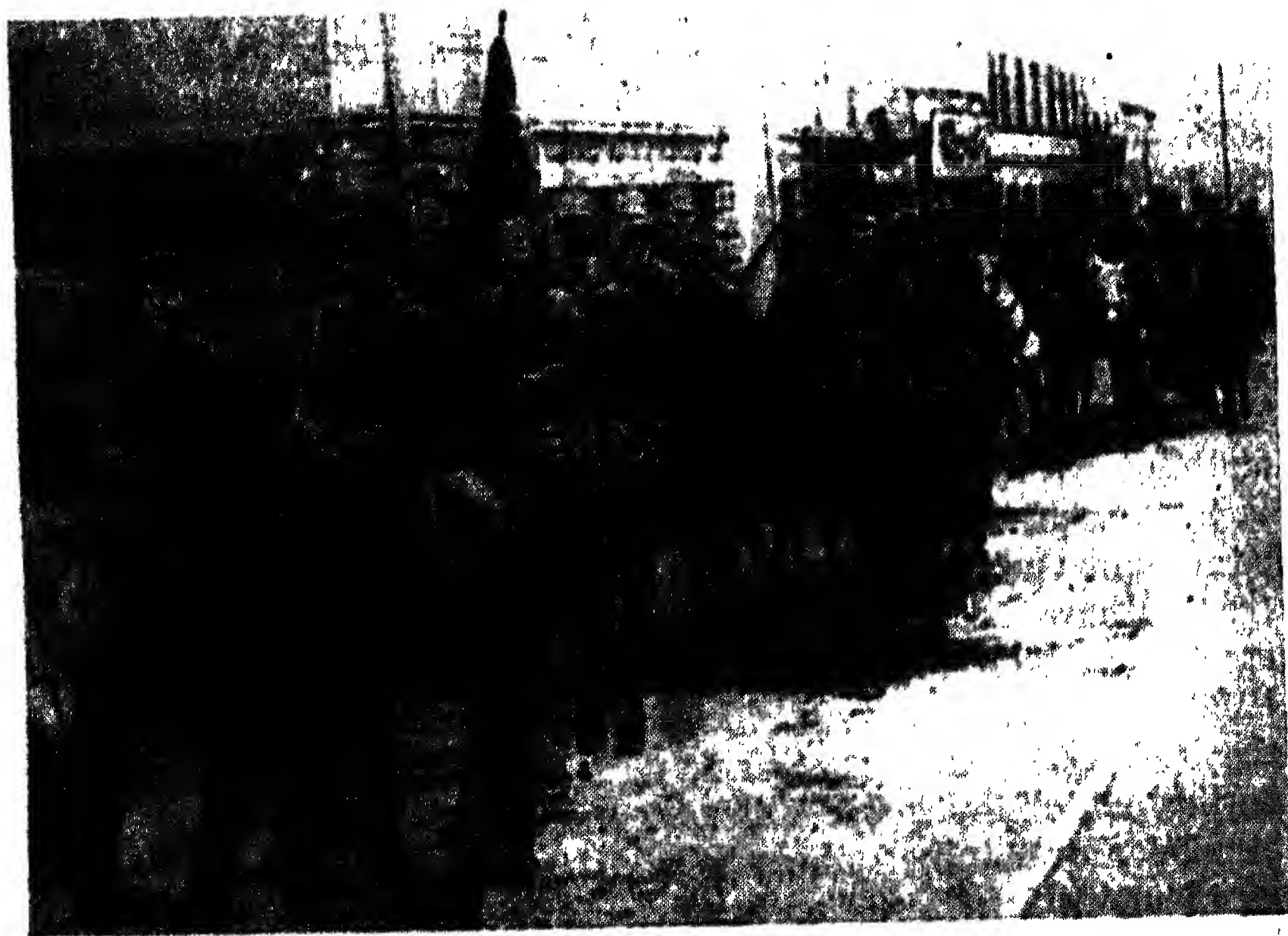
The imperialists of the Entente, realizing that Kolchak's offensive had collapsed, started a second campaign. This was also a combined operation but this time Denikin's army was the main force. The centre of operations was transferred to the south. Denikin was fully supported and equipped by the Entente. Between March and September 1919 Denikin received from England and France: 558 field guns, 12 tanks, 1,700,000 artillery shells, 160,000,000 cartridges and 250,000 sets of equipment. The United States monopolies provided Denikin with munitions of various kinds to a total value of 86,700,000 dollars. Denikin's army was supported by Polish White Guards in the west and by Yudenich's army in the north-west. On July 3 Denikin issued an order to start the march on Moscow. Three White Guard armies (the Caucasian, Don and "Volunteer") launched an offensive hoping to capture Moscow. The front extended from the Dnieper to the Volga.

On July 9, 1919, the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) sent a message to all Party organizations headed: "All Out for the Fight Against Denikin!" New mobilizations of Communists, Komsomols and trade-unionists for the front were carried out. The Southern Front received fresh reinforcements of about 60,000 men. The Supreme Command of the Red Army was strengthened. On July 8, 1919, S. S. Kamenev was appointed Commander-in-Chief in place of I. I. Vatsetis. In August the Soviet command launched a counter-offensive, making its main drive through the Cossack districts that constituted the main base of Denikin's army. The enemy, however, succeeded in checking the advance of the Red Army. The disorganizing activities of Trotsky (at that time Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and People's Commissar of the Navy) had a deleterious effect on the preparation and implementation of the counter-offensive. In September and October the enemy achieved considerable success in the central sectors of the front. The White Guards captured Kursk, Voronezh, Orel and reached the approaches to Tula, an important industrial centre supplying munitions for the Red Army. Moscow was threatened. By this time Yudenich's army had reached Pulkovo Heights near Petrograd. Polish White Guards captured Minsk. The Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (B.) adopted all essential measures to repulse and rout the enemy. The Southern Front was divided into the Southern and South-Eastern fronts. A. I. Yegorov was appointed Commander of the Southern Front in place of V. N. Yegoryev, member of the Revolutionary Military Council was J. V. Stalin. The Southern Front received reinforcements that in September and October alone amounted to 50,000 men. K. Y. Voroshilov, R. S. Zemlyachka, G. K. Orjonikidze, V. P. Potemkin and other prominent Party members (about 3,000 altogether) were sent to the Southern Front. In the autumn of 1919 the units of the Southern Front were strengthened by 15,000 Communists and 10,000 Komsomols. By a decision of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) a Party Week was held in the autumn of 1919 during which over 200,000 new members from 38 central gubernias alone joined the ranks of the Party. Despite the tremendous difficulties, the heroic efforts of the working people led to an increase in the output of arms and ammunition. Partisan warfare behind the enemy's lines became much more

active under the leadership of underground Bolshevik organizations and revolutionary committees.

In the changing situation the centre of operations against Denikin was transferred from the South-Eastern to the Southern Front. On Lenin's initiative a new plan was elaborated for a drive on Rostov through Kharkov and the Donets Basin.

On October 11 and 12 the counter-offensive of the armies of the Southern Front in the direction of Orel and Voronezh began and in the vicinity of these two cities the White Guards suffered a defeat that proved decisive (Orel was liberated on October 20 and Voronezh on October 24). The counter-offensive of the Southern Front, supported by the South-Eastern Front, by December developed into a general offensive on both fronts. An important part was played by the 1st Cavalry Army (founded on November 19, 1919, Commander S. M. Budyonny, member of the Military Council K. Y. Voroshilov) in routing and pursuing the enemy. The 11th Army that had defended Astrakhan also went over to the offensive in the North Caucasus direction. On January 9, 1920, the Red Army liberated Rostov-on-



Red Army units enter Tsaritsyn, January 3, 1920



K. Y. Voroshilov, M. V. Frunze and S. M. Budyonny, 1920

Don. Early in 1920 Denikin's army was completely routed in Southern Ukraine and the Kuban, the remnants escaping to the Crimea. Soviet power was re-established in the Ukraine. In October and November 1919, Yudenich's army was defeated near Petrograd. And in the north the White Guard contingents were also defeated early in 1920: on February 21 Arkhangelsk was liberated and on March 13 Red Army units entered Murmansk.

After the defeat of the second Entente campaign, the Soviet Republic obtained a short respite in which to begin the restoration of a national economy disrupted by the war. The situation in the Republic was a very serious one. The Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets (December 5 to December 9, 1919) and the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) (held March 29 to April 5, 1920) discussed the transition to peace-time economic construction. In February 1920, on Lenin's initiative, the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO) was set up under the chairmanship of G. Krzhizhanovsky.

The Entente launched its third campaign in the spring of 1920 with the Polish White army and Wrangel's White Guard army, based on the Crimea, as their chief forces. The imperialists supplied the Polish White Guards and Wrangel with large quantities of arms, ammunition and clothing. At the end of

April 1920 the Poles invaded the Ukraine and on May 7 occupied Kiev. In June Wrangel's units started their offensive, occupied North Taurida and constituted a threat to the Donets Basin.

On May 23, 1920, the theses of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (B.) "The Polish Front and Our Tasks" were published, giving the army and the people concrete objectives in the struggle against the White Poles and the Russian White Guards. The fronts received reinforcement. Over 20,000 Communists were sent to the Western and South-Western fronts. The 1st Cavalry Army (from the Kuban), the 25th Chapayev Division and other formations were transferred to the South-Western Front. In May the troops of the Western Front (Commander M. N. Tukhachevsky, member of the Military Council I. S. Unshlikht) went over to the offensive but without achieving any success. At the beginning of June the South-Western Front launched a counter-offensive (Commander A. I. Yegorov, member of the Military Council J. V. Stalin, in charge of the hinterland—F. E. Dzerzhinsky). The 1st Cavalry Army breached the enemy line and liberated Zhitomir. The 2nd and 3rd Polish ar-



Mikhail Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, speaking at a meeting of the 1st Cavalry Army, South-Western Front, 1920

mies began to retreat in disorder after suffering heavy losses. Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, was liberated on June 12. The offensive of the South-Western Front then developed in the Lvov direction. In June the Western Front received as reinforcements the 3rd and 4th armies and several smaller formations. Early in July the counter-offensive was renewed and became the main Soviet drive. On July 11 Soviet troops liberated Minsk, capital of Byelorussia.

Soviet troops cleared the territory of the Ukraine and Byelorussia of Polish White forces and entered the territory of Poland. The 1st Cavalry Army drove towards Lvov and the troops of the Western Front towards Warsaw. Poland, under the rule of the bourgeoisie and landowners, was confronted with utter defeat. With the aid of the Entente countries White Poland managed to build up and equip a striking force that launched an offensive and drove the Red Army back from Warsaw. The withdrawal of the Red Army was due to a number of causes: the breakdown of co-operation between the Western and South-Western fronts at a decisive moment in operations; the poor organization of the offensive and the direction of the troops; the forward units advanced to between 200 and 400 km. from their rear services and were without reserves and munitions at a critical moment in the battle; there were also other reasons for the retreat.

Poland, however, did not have the forces to continue the war and agreed to the conclusion of peace. The Polish command signed preliminary peace terms in Riga on October 12, 1920, and hostilities ceased. In Riga on March 18, 1921, a Peace Treaty was concluded between the Soviet Republic and Poland under which Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia remained part of Poland. The conclusion of peace with Poland enabled the Soviet command to concentrate the necessary forces against Wrangel's armies.

At the end of October 1920 the troops of the Southern Front (Commander M. V. Frunze) inflicted a defeat on Wrangel's army in North Taurida; the enemy withdrew to the Crimea and between November 7 and 11 Soviet forces took by storm the strong fortifications at Perekop and Chongar; by November 16 they liberated the Crimea from the interventionists and White Guards. By the end of 1920 the main interventionist and White Guard forces had been routed.

The correctness of the national policy of Soviet power ensured

the active participation of all nationalities in the country, headed by the Russian working class, in the war against Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel and the foreign intervention. The Russian people and the Red Army helped the other peoples of Russia in their liberation from the interventionists and the White Guards.

At the end of 1919 and in 1920, after the defeat of Kolchak's army, the Turkestan Front, commanded by M. V. Frunze and V. V. Kuibyshev, helped the peoples of Central Asia defeat the interventionists and the nationalist counter-revolution. Soviet power was re-established throughout Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In addition to the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, proclaimed on April 30, 1918, the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic was proclaimed in April 1920 and the Bokhara People's Soviet Republic in September 1920.

The Russian people and the Red Army went to the help of the Azerbaijan, Armenian and Georgian peoples and together with them liberated the Transcaucasus from the interventionists, the White Guards and the Musavat, Dashnak and Menshevik governments. The Musavat was a counter-revolutionary nationalist party of the bourgeoisie and landowners that had its inception in Azerbaijan in 1912 and was defeated and abolished after the establishment of Soviet power. The Dashnaks (or Dashnaktsutun) was a similar party in Armenia that from 1918 to 1920 headed the counter-revolutionary bourgeois-nationalist government established in Armenia with the aid of the Germans and Turks. The government was overthrown by the insurrectionary people in November 1920 and the party was abolished after the victory of Soviet power. In the course of the liberation the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic was founded on April 28, 1920, the Armenian S.S.R. on November 29 and the Georgian S.S.R. on February 25, 1921. The Entente was forced to remove its blockade of the Soviet Republic in January 1920. On February 2, 1920, a peace treaty was signed with Estonia, on July 12 with Lithuania and on August 11 with Latvia, the White Guards and interventionists having re-established the power of the bourgeoisie in those countries in 1919 and 1920. On October 14 peace was concluded with Finland.

The war in the Far East dragged on until the autumn of 1922. The British and American troops were compelled to withdraw from the Far East in 1920, but Japanese troops held on until October 1922. To ensure a respite on the Eastern Front and

prevent a war with Japan, the Far-Eastern Republic (F.E.R.) was proclaimed in April 1920; it was a bourgeois-democratic republic in form but pursued a genuinely Soviet policy. With the aid of the R.S.F.S.R. the F.E.R. created its own people's revolutionary army that began an offensive and with the aid of the partisans captured Volochayevka (February 12, 1922), Spassk (October 9) and Vladivostok (October 25), driving the last of the White Guards from the Far East. By that time Japanese troops had been evacuated from the Far East (with the exception of Sakhalin). In November 1922 the F.E.R. united with the R.S.F.S.R. In the course of the fighting against the interventionists and White Guards in the Far East the Red Army helped the Mongolian People's Army liberate Mongolia (1921) from Ungern's White Guard bands.

The Soviet people and their Red Army achieved an historic victory over the combined forces of international imperialism and over the internal counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie and landowners. It was a just patriotic war in which the working people and their army and navy were defending the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, were defending the liberty and independence of the Soviet Republics. The Soviet social and state structure, engendered by the October Revolution, withstood the trials and privations of war and demonstrated its indestructible might. The Communist Party, headed by Lenin, was the organizer and inspirer of the historic victories of the Soviet people and its Red Army over the intervention and the White Guards. The Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), with Lenin at its head, was the collective body that organized the defence of the Republic from internal and external foes. Questions concerning the defence of the country were first discussed by the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and decisions taken were immediately implemented. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the leader of the Party and the people, the head of the government, the Chairman of the Workers' and Peasants' Defence Council, guided the country, the Party and operations on all Civil War fronts from day to day. The Bolshevik Party sent its best people into the army, to the front, where the fate of the revolution was being decided. In 1918 there were about 30,000 Communists in the Red Army, in 1919 the number was already 120,000 and by August 1920 about 300,000, which was about half the total strength of the Party. The Communists displayed firmness, heroism and boundless loyalty to the cause of the

revolution and served as an example to the non-Party masses. The Party converted the country into a single armed camp, with an indestructible alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry that played a decisive role in the achievement of victory over the enemy. The Soviet people displayed mass heroism, selflessness and inexhaustible creative energy—14,000 commanders and men and 36 army units and formations were awarded the Republic's highest honour, the Order of the Red Banner. The working class and the toiling peasantry provided their country with splendid officers and generals of a new type, excellent organizers and political leaders, army commissars and heroes whose names have become legendary, such as V. I. Chapayev, S. M. Budyonny, V. K. Blucher, O. Dundić, N. A. Shchors, S. G. Lazo, G. I. Kotovsky, A. Y. Parkhomenko and many others. The just character of Soviet Russia's war and her subsequent peace-loving international policy evoked the profoundest sympathy of the working people of the capitalist countries who showed their support by the "Hands off Russia!" movement.

RESTORATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY (1921-1925)

Transition to Peace-Time Construction

After the victorious end of the war against the intervention and the White Guards, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, set about the tremendous task of building up socialist society. Most urgent of all tasks was that of rehabilitating a national economy completely wrecked by four years of imperialist war and three years of civil war. The 1920 industrial output was 13.8 per cent of that of 1913, the smelting of iron was about 2.7 per cent and of steel about 4.6 per cent of the pre-war level and there was a serious shortage of fuel and raw materials. In 1921 the textile mills produced only one-twenty-third of their 1913 output. The railways were almost at a standstill. About 69 per cent of the country's locomotives were on the "sick list" and the freight carried in 1920 was 40 million tons as compared with 132 million tons in 1913. The dilapidated state of the railways threatened to paralyse the entire economic life of the country. Agricultural output in 1920 was about half that of pre-war, and in that year, too, the harvest failed in a

number of gubernias. The amount of foodstuffs supplied to the towns by the farms in 1921 was one-third of the 1913 level. Under these conditions it was impossible for the farms to provide the urban population and the army with food and light industry with raw materials. Industry, on its part, could not provide the peasantry with the most essential consumer goods (kerosene, salt, sugar, matches, soap, textiles). The result was that the peasants to a considerable extent reverted to a natural, or self-sufficing, economy. The compulsory state deliveries of surpluses and the ban on trade made the peasant uninterested in developing the farm. By the end of the war discontent with the policy of War Communism made itself felt among the peasantry. There was a danger that the alliance between the workers and the peasants would be disrupted. A new system of economic measures was required to effect progress in agriculture and provide a stimulus to increase the output of food and raw materials sufficiently to ensure the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry under the new conditions.

The hunger, destruction and fatigue led to discontent among certain sections of the workers. The main brunt of the war, both at the front and at home, had been borne by the working class. As a class it had been considerably reduced numerically and its composition had changed. The most advanced of the old workers had been mobilized for the front and for work in the Soviet state apparatus. Some of the workers had returned to the countryside and become declassed. A total of 2,598,000 workers had been engaged in the bigger industries in 1913; by 1921 the number had dropped to 1,228,000. The class basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat had begun to weaken. This was the chief danger, one that menaced the very existence of Soviet power. The internal and external enemies of the Soviet people hurried to take advantage of the difficult economic and political situation in the country for their anti-Soviet ends. The White Guards, S.R.'s and Mensheviks, with the support of international reaction, during the second half of 1920 and in 1921 organized anti-Soviet revolts in various parts of the country: the Antonov revolt in Tambov Gubernia, Makhno's revolt in the Ukraine, kulak uprisings in the Volga area and Siberia, the *basmach*i in Central Asia, the Kronstadt mutiny in 1921 and others. The *basmach*i movement was a counter-revolutionary nationalist movement in Central Asia that lasted from 1918 to 1924 and

aimed at alienating the Central Asian Republics from Soviet Russia and establishing the power of the exploiting classes. It took the form of political banditry supported by the *bais* and mullahs. Remnants of the *basmachis* gangs, scattered by the Red Army, fled to Persia and Afghanistan. The usual slogan of all counter-revolutionaries was "Soviets without Communists!" All these revolts were suppressed by Soviet power. Late in 1921 and early in 1922 Finnish White Guard contingents invaded Karelia but were driven back.

The decisions of the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets (December 22-29, 1920) had great significance for the period of transition to peaceful construction. The Congress discussed questions concerning the rehabilitation of industry and agriculture and drew up urgent measures for the normal working of railway and water transport. An outstanding feature of the Congress was the discussion and approval of the plan for the electrification of the Soviet Republic—the famous GOELRO plan that envisaged the construction, within ten or fifteen years, of 30 big power stations with a total capacity of 1,500,000 kw. and an increase in industrial output of 80-100 per cent over pre-war. This was the first long-term economic plan elaborated by the Soviet state, the first concrete programme for the re-equipment and reconstruction of industry and the entire national economy of the Soviet Republic on a sound, modern technical basis.

Lenin called the GOELRO plan the Party's second programme. The problem of electrification was dealt with as an integral unit of the basic programme for the building of communism. "*Communism*," said Lenin, "*is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.*" The Congress passed a number of important decisions on questions of Soviet administration; on December 28 the Order of the Red Banner of Labour was instituted as the highest award for valour on the labour front and on December 29 the Congress approved the setting up of a Council of Labour and Defence under the chairmanship of Lenin and decided to begin demobilization.

At a time when the Communist Party and the Soviet Government were mustering all forces for the rapid rehabilitation of the national economy and the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat—these two problems being basic to extensive socialist construction—Trotsky and his followers, at

the end of 1920, involved the Party in a discussion on trade unions, demanding that trade-union membership should be made compulsory and that voluntary mass organizations should be run under the direct orders of the government. Trotsky was supported by other opposition groups inside the Party. Their actions led to a split in the Party and the trade unions and weakened the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, since the discussion went beyond the trade-union question: the dispute concerned the attitude towards the peasantry who had revolted against War Communism and also towards non-Party workers. The Party rebuffed Trotsky and his supporters and adopted Lenin's platform on the trade unions which he formulated in the following words: The Trade Unions "are an educational organization, an organization for attracting and teaching, that is, a school, a school of administration, a school of management, a school of communism."

The Introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP)

In March 1921, the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) on Lenin's initiative adopted the historic decision to substitute taxes in kind for the compulsory deliveries of surpluses by the peasantry and introduced the New Economic Policy. As early as the spring of 1918, Lenin had elaborated the general principles of the economic policy of the Soviet state for the building of socialism in a capitalist encirclement and under conditions of a bitter struggle between capitalist and socialist elements inside the country. After the defeat of the intervention and the White Guards the Soviet state changed its policy of War Communism for the New Economic Policy (NEP). NEP was an economic policy calculated to overcome the elements of capitalism and build up a socialist economy by use of the market, commerce and the circulation of money. The essence of the policy was an alliance of the working class and the peasantry built up on a sound economic foundation. At the beginning NEP inevitably led to a resurrection of capitalist elements in town and countryside and a sharper class struggle in the country. But under the dictatorship of the proletariat, with key positions in the national economy in the hands of Soviet power, NEP ensured the victory of socialist over capitalist elements in economy. NEP provided a solid basis for the linking of socialist industry with the petty peasant economy, strengthened the alliance between the

working class and the peasantry—and thereby the dictatorship of the proletariat—gave Soviet people an incentive to increase the productivity of labour and provided conditions for the rapid rehabilitation of the national economy and the improvement of the living standard of the working people, that is, conditions under which a sound foundation for socialist construction could be laid down. The Communist Party had to overcome the resistance of Trotsky and his followers in the struggle to implement the New Economic Policy which they interpreted as a return to capitalism.

There were tremendous political and economic difficulties in the implementation of NEP. The economy of the country at that time was made up of five sectors—the patriarchal peasant economy based on the labour of the peasant and his family and almost completely self-sufficing; petty commodity production, mainly that of the middle peasantry but including small cottage industries that did not employ hired labour; the privately-owned capitalist sector that included the most numerous of the exploiting classes, the kulaks and the capitalist industrial and trading enterprises, mostly small and medium, that had not been nationalized; the state capitalist sector (mainly concessions granted to foreign capitalists; this was a very small sector of economy); the socialist sector that included all institutions in the hands of the Soviet state, such as industrial and trading enterprises, transport, banks, state farms, as well as the consumers', supply, credit and producers' co-operatives. The socialist sector played the leading role in the country's economy. The task set was the abolition of the many sectors with a guarantee of the victory of the socialist system in all branches of the national economy.

Guided by the decisions of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) the Second Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on March 21, 1921, passed the law on the "Substitution of a Tax in Kind for Appropriation of Surpluses of Food and Raw Materials." On March 28, the Council of People's Commissars published a decree fixing the total tax in kind for 1921-1922 at not more than 240 million poods of grain (with Turkestan and the Ukraine not included) instead of the 423 million poods that had been required by the appropriation system in 1920-1921. The decree also sanctioned the free exchange of food and fodder grains in 44 gubernias. The decree gave the peasants greater interest in extending the area plant-

ed to crops, in increasing their herds of cattle and the productive forces in agriculture as rapidly as possible. This, in turn, provided the conditions necessary for the rehabilitation of industry and transport. Between April and July 1921 the Council of People's Commissars published a number of decrees on NEP; these included decrees on consumers' co-operatives that annulled the former restrictions in food purchasing by the co-operatives; decrees that sanctioned free trade, removed restrictions from currency circulation and the increase of deposit and transfer operations, and gave co-operative and similar bodies and private citizens the right to rent state industrial enterprises for exploitation; decrees on the conclusion of agreements with capitalist states or individual groups of industrialists on concessions, etc.

The introduction of NEP provided the necessary conditions for the rehabilitation of the national economy and for laying the foundations of socialist economy. The first year of NEP produced very significant results. In 1921 industry reached 31 per cent of the pre-war level instead of the 13.8 per cent in 1920. The output of cotton fabrics was trebled, that of the rubber industry increased sixfold (50 per cent of the pre-war level) in a single year. The capital goods industries recovered more slowly and reached only 21 per cent of the 1913 level, and the metal goods industry, despite its 65 per cent increase during the year, stood at only 7 per cent of the pre-war level.

The implementation of the GOELRO plan began with the building of the Volkhov and Balakhna power stations followed by the Shatura and Shterovka stations in 1922. The Kashira Power Station began to produce current on May 1, 1922. The first successes in rehabilitating and developing economy were achieved despite the fact that a terrible natural calamity afflicted the country in 1921—drought, a bad harvest and the consequent famine. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government took energetic measures to deal with the famine. Over 24 million poods of grain were allotted to the afflicted gubernias for food and seed; help for the affected areas was organized by the working people of the whole country. The Soviet people overcame unbelievable difficulties in their struggle against the famine and the autumn planting of 1921 was, on the whole, carried out successfully. Even in the gubernias that had suffered from the drought 75 per cent of the previous year's area was

planted to winter crops. The good harvest of 1922 did away with the worst consequences of the famine.

The Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets (December 1921) and the Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) (March-April 1922) summed up the first results of NEP. At the Eleventh Party Congress Lenin summarized these results and outlined the tasks of the Party in the new period as follows:

"We have been retreating for a whole year. We must now say in the name of the Party, 'Enough.' The purpose which the retreat pursued has been achieved. That period is drawing, or has drawn, to a close. Now another object comes to the forefront—the regrouping of forces."

Lenin showed that NEP was a fierce struggle between socialism and capitalism on the question of who would win and stressed the fact that the country had everything necessary to turn backward Russia into a progressive socialist state. The Eleventh Congress gave directives for the further implementation of NEP.

In the sphere of foreign politics the Soviet Government consistently pursued a policy of peace and strove to achieve favourable foreign political conditions for peaceful construction. After the conclusion of the first peace treaties with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland in 1920, the Soviet Government concluded a number of other treaties during 1921: with Persia (February 26), with Afghanistan (February 28), with Turkey (March 16), with Poland (March 18); and trade agreements with Britain (March 16), Germany (May 6), Norway (September 2), Austria (December 7), Italy (December 26), and with Czechoslovakia on June 5, 1922. The Soviet Government did everything possible to extend and strengthen diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with foreign countries, basing itself on Lenin's thesis of the possibility of the coexistence of the socialist and capitalist systems.

In January 1922 the Soviet Government was invited to the Genoa Conference that was to open on April 10, 1922. The delegations from the Entente countries demanded that the Soviet delegation recognize all the debts of tsarist Russia, the Provisional Government and the White Guard governments, that the factories nationalized by Soviet power be returned to foreign capitalists and that the monopoly in foreign trade be abolished. The Soviet delegation, carrying out Lenin's instructions, disrupted the plans of the imperialists. On the question of debts

the Soviet delegation submitted a counter-claim: they demanded compensation for the intervention to a sum of 39,000 million gold rubles which was more than twice the sum (18,500 million gold rubles) the imperialists claimed from the Soviet Republic. The foreign delegations refused to acknowledge the counter-claim. At this conference, for the first time in history, the Soviet delegation raised the question of universal disarmament. The proposal found no support among the delegations of the capitalist countries. During the Conference the Soviet delegation carried out successful diplomatic negotiations with the German delegation and the Rapallo Treaty, establishing diplomatic relations between the R.S.F.S.R. and Germany, was concluded on April 16, 1922. This was an important diplomatic victory for the Soviet Government; it thwarted the attempt of the Entente countries to create a united front of the capitalist countries against the Soviet Republics.

Formation of the U.S.S.R. Successes in Economic Rehabilitation

An important part in economic rehabilitation and socialist construction was played by the formation of the U.S.S.R., effected under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Lenin. The voluntary alliance of sovereign Soviet Republics in a single multinational socialist state was dictated by the entire course of the political, economic and cultural development of those republics and the way for it was prepared by the correct Leninist national policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. The experience of the joint struggle of the Soviet Republics against numerous external and internal enemies showed that the treaty relations that had existed between them in the first years of Soviet power were insufficient both for the economic rehabilitation of the country and the building of socialism and for the defence of their state independence and sovereignty against the imperialists.

The formation of a single state union of Soviet Republics was called for primarily by the necessity to unify and employ rationally, in accordance with a single economic plan, all economic and financial resources, all the forces and means at the disposal of the Soviet Republics for economic rehabilitation and socialist construction. It was all the more necessary because the age-old natural division of labour among the various parts of Russia and the close economic bonds between them made the

successful development of the Soviet Republics impossible as long as they existed separately. The Soviet Republics stood in need of all-round mutual assistance, first and foremost they needed the support of the R.S.F.S.R., the most powerful of the Soviet Republics and the most highly developed economically and culturally. The R.S.F.S.R., on its part, needed grain from the south, coal from the Donets Basin, oil from Baku and cotton from Central Asia. The unification of the chief means of communication and the railways also required the union of the Soviet Republics in a single state. The formation of the Union was also made necessary by external circumstances due to the hostile capitalist encirclement. The years of intervention and civil war showed that without a state union of the Soviet Republics, without their unification in a single military and economic force, it would be impossible to defend the independence of the Soviet Republics against the combined forces of world imperialism. The formation of the U.S.S.R. also stemmed from the very nature of Soviet power that is international in essence.

In 1922, on the initiative of the Communist Party, there was a widespread movement among the working people of all republics for alliance in a single union state. The Transcaucasian Federation was proclaimed in March 1922 and in December 1922 it was reformed as the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (T.S.F.S.R.). Congresses of Soviets of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Byelorussian S.S.R. and T.S.F.S.R. held in December 1922 took decisions on the formation of a Union; on December 26, 1922, the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets recognized the timeliness of the unification of the Soviet Republics in a single union state. During this movement for the formation of the U.S.S.R. Lenin struggled with determination against great power chauvinism and local nationalism, against administrative high-handedness and other distortions of the national policy of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin opposed the plan of autonomization, a false theory that required the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan to enter the R.S.F.S.R. as autonomous republics, a plan that a number of Party officials proposed. Instead he elaborated the principles for the formation of a new type of state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The First Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. met in Moscow on December 30, 1922, and examined and approved the Declaration on the Formation of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics. The Declaration formulated the basic principles for the union of the republics: their equality and entry into the Union on a voluntary basis with the right of secession; the Union was open to receive new member republics. The Congress examined and approved the Treaty on the Formation of the U.S.S.R. It defined the questions that came within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R., determined the structure of the higher organs of state power and state administration, their rights and obligations and declared uniform citizenship of the U.S.S.R. The first republics to join the U.S.S.R. were the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., the Byelorussian S.S.R. and the T.S.F.S.R. The Russian Republic constituted the core around which the multinational socialist state was formed and strengthened. The establishment of the U.S.S.R. was a triumph for Lenin's national policy and was an act of historic significance.

Speaking at the Plenary Session of the Moscow Soviet in November 1922 Lenin summed up the results of five years of Soviet power and said that he was confident that NEP Russia would become socialist Russia. In the autumn of that year he was taken seriously ill. During his illness he wrote a number of very important letters and articles: "A Letter to the Congress" (known as "The Testament"), "On the Granting of Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission," "The Question of Nationalities, or 'Autonomization,'" "Pages from a Diary," "On Co-operation," "Our Revolution," "How We Should Organize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection," "Better Fewer, but Better," in which he summarized the work that had been done and gave concrete measures for the building of a socialist society: the industrialization of the country, co-operation of peasant farms (collectivization), the conduct of a cultural revolution and the strengthening of the socialist state as the chief weapon in the struggle for the victory of socialism. These outline plans contained in Lenin's last letters and articles formed the basis of the decisions of the Twelfth Party Congress (April 1923) and of the policy of the Party and the Government. The Congress summed up the results of NEP for two years and pointed the way for its further successful implementation. The Congress decision on the national question provided the Soviet people with a comprehensive programme of struggle to overcome the economic and cultural inequality of the Soviet peoples that had been inherited from the past. The Congress condemned anti-Party deviations on the national question—

great power (Great Russian) chauvinism and local nationalism, and mobilized the Party for the struggle to strengthen the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Despite the considerable progress made in all branches of economy, the growth of industry and the rehabilitation of the productive forces in agriculture were still lagging behind the needs of the country. By the end of 1923 there were about a million unemployed. About 4,000 small and medium enterprises in the light and food industries, about three-quarters of the retail trade and about half the wholesale trade of the country were in the hands of private owners. The NEP operators in the towns and the kulaks in the rural areas, the remnants of the defeated parties of Mensheviks and S.R.'s and other hostile forces conducted an uninterrupted struggle against the policy of the Communist Party—they engaged in sabotage and wrecking, diversion and espionage and directed all their efforts towards the re-establishment of capitalist relations in the U.S.S.R. In 1923 the country experienced considerable economic difficulties. There was a crisis in the marketing of industrial products on account of the unequal rate of restoration in industry and agriculture, shortcomings in the field of planning and contraventions of the Soviet price policy by industrial and trading organizations. The result was that prices for manufactured goods were very high and those of farm produce too low. Financial difficulties led to the wages of workers and office employees being delayed. The deviating prices (the so-called "scissors") could have led to a narrower basis for industrial production, to the disruption of industry and to the weakening of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The Party and the Government adopted decisive measures to remove the difficulties that had arisen, to overcome the marketing crisis and to correct the price policy. Prices of manufactured goods were lowered, especially those in greatest demand; a currency reform was carried out, beginning as early as October 1922, by which a sound monetary unit, the *chervonets* (10 rubles), was established. Measures were indicated to develop trade through state and co-operative organizations in order to squeeze out private traders and speculators. All these measures improved the living standards of the working people.

In 1923 the international situation deteriorated: in an ultimatum, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon, on May 8 threatened a new intervention against the

U.S.S.R.; that same month V. V. Vorovsky, a Soviet diplomat, was assassinated in Switzerland and there was redoubled anti-Soviet agitation in the U.S.A., Britain, France and other countries. The Soviet Government dealt a sound rebuff to the sallies of the capitalist countries. Trotsky and his followers, taking advantage of internal and international complications and of Lenin's illness, renewed their attacks on the Party and its leadership but were defeated ideologically.

On January 21, 1924, the Party and the Soviet people learned with the deepest sorrow of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, organizer and leader of the Communist Party, founder of the first socialist state in the world, Chairman of the Councils of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. and the U.S.S.R. Lenin's death was a tremendous loss, not only to the Soviet people, but to the working people of the whole world. The Soviet people became more solid in their support of the Communist Party and took an oath to fulfil the great behests of Lenin. The Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) announced a special Lenin enrolment into the Party and in a short time about 250,000 people responded. The Second Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. resolved to rename revolutionary Petrograd as Leningrad in eternal memory of Lenin. It was also decided to publish Lenin's works and to name the Young Communist League after Lenin; the Order of Lenin, as the highest award in the U.S.S.R., was instituted in 1930, Lenin Prizes for outstanding achievement in science and engineering were instituted in 1925 and the Central Lenin Museum was opened in Moscow in 1936.

On January 31, 1924, the Second Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. approved the Constitution of the Union. The basis for the first Constitution of the U.S.S.R. were the Declaration and the Treaty on the Formation of the U.S.S.R. adopted by the First Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. The Constitution gave legal force to the formation of the U.S.S.R. as a multinational socialist state based on the friendship and equality of the peoples. The Constitution was of great internal and international importance. It ensured the working people of the U.S.S.R. great democratic rights and liberties and active participation in the administration of the state. All working people had the right to elect deputies to the state bodies and to be elected to them irrespective of sex, religion, race, nationality or place of domicile, provided they had reached the age of 18 by the day of the election. Under conditions of an acute class struggle Soviet pow-

er was compelled to deprive, temporarily, alien class elements of their franchise (kulaks, traders, the clergy of all religions, former members of the police and gendarmerie, etc.).

In this period the perfection of state administration on a national basis was continued. In 1924 a number of districts in the Smolensk, Vitebsk and Gomel gubernias inhabited mainly by Byelorussians were transferred from the R.S.F.S.R. to the Byelorussian S.S.R., the territory of the latter thereby being more than doubled. The Moldavian Autonomous S.S.R. was formed as a constituent part of the Ukrainian S.S.R. In 1924 and 1925 the national state delineation of Central Asian frontiers was carried out, thus giving the peoples of Central Asia their national statehood. The Uzbek S.S.R. and the Turkmenian S.S.R. were formed from those regions of the Turkestan Autonomous S.S.R. and the Bokhara and Khorezm Republics that were inhabited mostly by Uzbeks and Turkmenians; the regions of the Turkestan A.S.S.R. and Bokhara inhabited by Tajiks formed the Tajik A.S.S.R. as part of the Uzbek S.S.R.; the districts of the Turkestan A.S.S.R. inhabited by Kazakhs were joined to the Kazakh A.S.S.R.; a Kirghiz Autonomous Region was formed from districts inhabited by Kirghiz and remained part of the R.S.F.S.R. The Third Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. held in May 1925 accepted the two newly formed Republics, the Uzbek S.S.R. and the Turkmenian S.S.R., into the Union. The Congress also made important decisions on questions of Soviet administration, industry, agriculture and the organization of the armed forces, to strengthen which the army reform was carried out in 1924 and 1925. A new system of mobilization and recruitment was instituted which combined regular service with territorial militia principles. The administration of the army and navy was overhauled, simplified and perfected. The number of training establishments was increased, methods of military and political training for the troops were improved and the supply system was put in order. Rules and Regulations and training manuals for the Red Army were compiled on the basis of a study of the First World War and the Civil War. In January 1925, M. V. Frunze, an outstanding Red Army strategist, was appointed Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R. and People's Commissar for the Army and Navy.

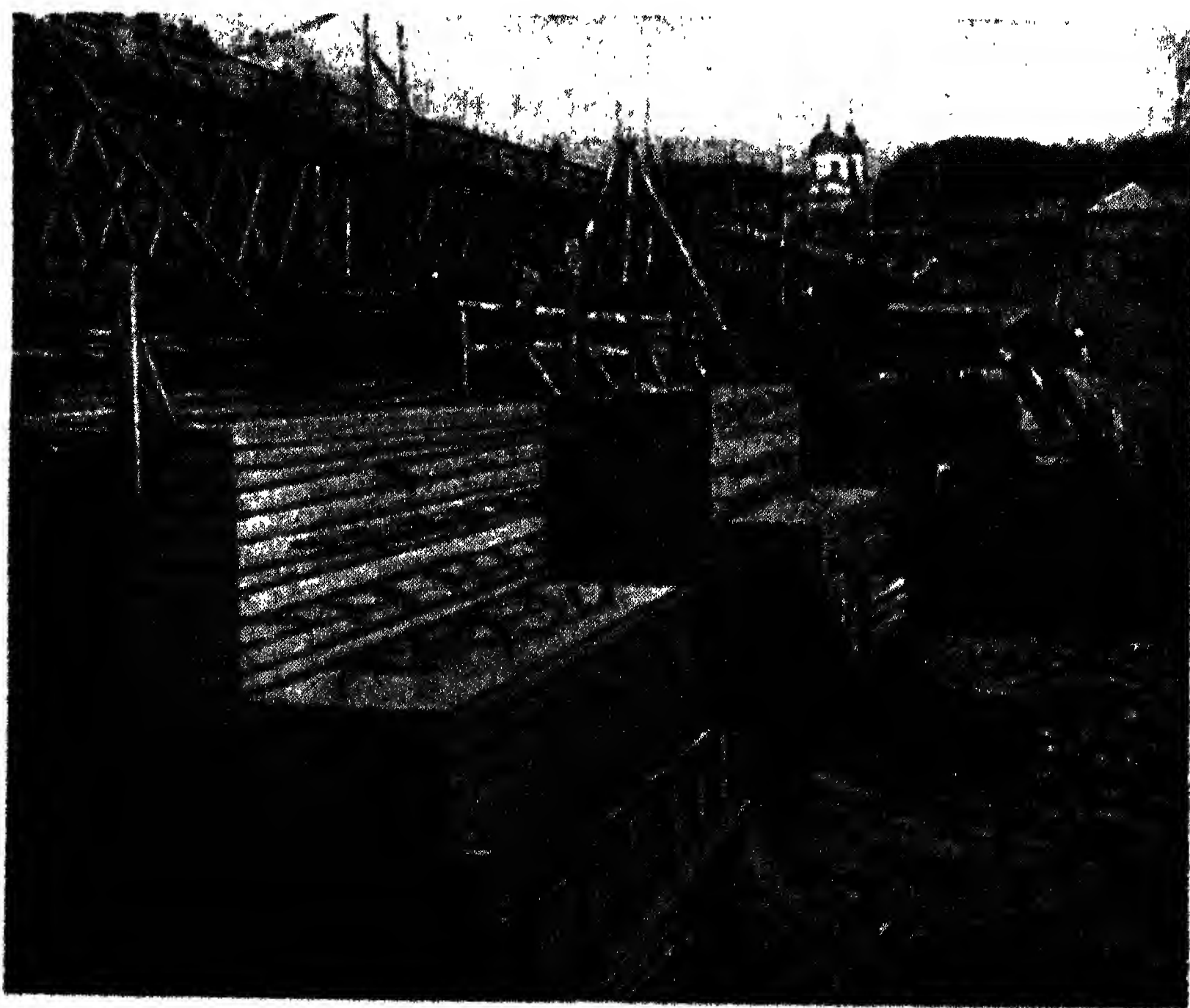
In 1924 the U.S.S.R. recorded some important achievements in the sphere of foreign policy. In the course of that year the U.S.S.R. established diplomatic relations with Great Britain

(February 2), Italy (February 7), Austria (February 25), Norway (March 10), Sweden (March 18), China (May 31), Denmark (June 18), Mexico (August 4), France (October 28), and in 1925 with Japan (January 20) and other countries. In May 1925 Japanese troops evacuated Northern Sakhalin. The ruling circles of the U.S.A. continued to be the most intolerant in respect of the U.S.S.R., pursuing a policy of "non-recognition." In August 1924 the Western Powers adopted the so-called Dawes Plan which involved the resurrection of German militarism. A direct political sequel to the Dawes Plan were the Locarno Pacts of 1925 whose object was to create an anti-Soviet bloc. Soviet diplomacy succeeded in weakening the anti-Soviet aspect of the Locarno Pacts to a great extent by concluding the Soviet-German Economic Agreement (October 12, 1925), the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality (December 17, 1925) and then the Soviet-German Non-Aggression and Neutrality Pact (April 24, 1926). The strengthening of the Soviet state's international position resulted from the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Government.

Results of the Period of Restoration

In 1925 the period of restoration was drawing to a close. That year big Soviet industries produced 75 per cent of the pre-war level and agriculture 87 per cent. The share of the socialist sector in industry and trade had increased and the first collective and state farms were growing and expanding. In the previous year the socialist sector of economy had accounted for 76.3 per cent of the total industrial output, 1.5 per cent of agricultural output, and 47.3 per cent of retail trade. The national income had increased: in 1921 it had been 38 per cent of the 1913 level but by 1926 it was already 103 per cent. The material conditions of the working people improved. The average wages of industrial workers in 1925 were 94 per cent of the pre-war level and in some branches of industry exceeded it (for example, the textile industry by 16 per cent, the chemical industry by 20 per cent, the food industry by 46 per cent). The number of factory workers and office employees engaged in industry had increased to 2,451,600 or 90.8 per cent of the pre-war figure by the end of 1925. The activity of the working class in the production field also increased—productivity of labour during the five years of the period of restoration increased by 250 per cent. Workers'

production conferences, inaugurated in 1923, were of special importance. All workers of a factory or department participated in these conferences to discuss problems and methods of increasing output, reducing overhead, etc. They were started on the initiative of leading Leningrad workers. Work in the cultural field was also very great. The number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools increased from 9,656,000 in 1914/1915 to 10,289,000 in 1925/1926. From the time of the publication of the Decree on the Abolition of Illiteracy among the Adult Population (December 26, 1919) to the All-Russian Congress on the Abolition of Illiteracy (February 1922) some 5,000,000 people had been taught to read and write. An important role in this work was played by the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Abolition of Illiteracy, set up by the People's Commissariat of Education in 1920, and the "Down with Illiteracy" Society. The number of students in schools of higher learning increased from 112,000 in 1913 to 162,000 in 1925. In



The Volkhov Hydroelectric Power Station under construction, 1925

1925 some 1,120 newspapers with a total circulation of 8,000,000 were published—three times the number printed before the October Revolution. By this time there were more than 32,000 community institutions (clubs, people's houses, cottage reading-rooms, etc.) and about 17,800 libraries of all types. Under the new conditions a complete recasting of scientific, literary and art work was under way.

The improved material and cultural conditions of the workers and peasants led to greater labour and political activity. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry became more solid, the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened and the prestige and influence of the Communist Party among the masses and of the Soviet Union in world affairs became much greater. This was a period of two forms of stabilization: the stabilization of the U.S.S.R. and the temporary, partial stabilization of the capitalist world. In the competition between the two systems the land of socialism showed the first results of its superiority over the capitalist system.

SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY AND COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R. (1926-1940)

Transition to Socialist Industrialization

By 1926 the national economy of the country had, in the main, reached the pre-war level. This, however, was the level of tsarist Russia, an economically and technically backward agrarian country. Russia occupied the largest territory among the countries of the world and took third place for population (after China and India), but for volume of industrial output was fifth in the world and fourth in Europe. In the output of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, coal, oil and electric power Russia lagged a long way behind the big capitalist states. The country did not possess its own tractor, automobile, aviation or machine-tool industries and the chemical industry had not been developed. About two-thirds of the country's total production was farm produce, with manufactured goods slightly over one-third. Russian industry and agriculture were equipped with modern machinery to the extent of anything between one-tenth and one-fifth of those of the big Western capitalist countries. The Soviet people were confronted with an urgent prob-

lem: to transform the backward agrarian country into an advanced industrial socialist power. The one material basis for socialism could be a powerful machine industry that was capable of transforming farming methods. The Communist Party, guided by Lenin's thesis on the comprehensive development of big machine industry and electrification, placed before the people the task of building up a heavy industry as their major task; this would provide a sound basis for the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R. and improve the country's defence potential and would be, at the same time, a source of constantly improving living standards for the working people. Trotsky and his followers and later the Right opportunists, who refuted Lenin's thesis on the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, opposed the Party line on the industrialization of the country. Their own policy would inevitably have led to the restoration of capitalism. The Communist Party, led by its Central Committee, defeated the capitulators ideologically, successfully defended the Leninist line and went forward determinedly with the industrialization of the country and the building of socialism. In the ideological struggle against Trotskyism and in the defence of Leninism several of Stalin's works, *The Foundations of Leninism* (1924), *Problems of Leninism* (1926) and others, were of the greatest importance.

The Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) held in December 1925 placed before the Soviet people the task of effecting the socialist industrialization of the country, the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism and the conversion of the U.S.S.R. into a socialist power economically independent of the capitalist states. The concrete problems to be solved by industrialization were: to re-equip the old factories with new plant, to open up branches of industry that had not existed in old Russia, to build engineering, machine-tool, automobile, chemical and metallurgical plants, to organize the Soviet production of motors and equipment for power stations, to increase the extraction of ores and coal, to create a new defence industry to increase the defence potential of the U.S.S.R., and to build tractor and farm machinery plants to provide the necessary material and technical basis for the transfer of millions of small peasant farms to large-scale collective farming. Technical and economic backwardness and the constant threat of intervention on the part of the aggres-

sive imperialist powers made the industrial development of the Soviet state at high speed a matter of necessity. Unlike the capitalist states that usually began their industrialization by developing light industries, the U.S.S.R. began by developing heavy industry.

The solution of all these complicated economic problems presented many difficulties, first and foremost that of finding the tremendous capital required to invest in industrialization. The key positions in the national economy were held by the socialist state—factories, the land, transport, banks, foreign trade, etc.—and this enabled the government to accumulate the funds necessary for industrialization. The Party and the Government aroused the political and labour activity of the masses, mobilized their efforts in the struggle for a regime of economy, greater productivity of labour and lower cost prices. The Fourth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. (April 18-26, 1927) made important decisions on the further economic development and strengthening of the Soviet state and on the elaboration of the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.

In the 1926-1927 fiscal year the Soviet Government allocated over 1,000 million rubles for industrial building. The socialist industrial enterprises were completely restored, some of them were reconstructed and extended, new factories, power stations, mines and blast-furnaces were built. The GOELRO plan was successfully implemented. The power stations that began turning out current were: Shatura (December 1925), Tashkent and Erevan (1926), the Volkhov Hydroelectric Power Station (December 1926). In October 1926 the Government approved the Dnieper Power Project. In the same year the building of a factory producing farm machinery was begun in Rostov-on-Don (Rostselmash) and in 1927 work was begun on the Turkestan-Siberian Railway (over 1,400 km.) to link up the grain-growing and forest regions of Siberia with the Central Asian cotton belt.

The 10th anniversary of Soviet power was celebrated in 1927. The results of historical victories were summed up at the Jubilee Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. (held December 15-20, 1927, in Leningrad). In those ten years the Land of Soviets had outstanding achievements to record. Total industrial output had exceeded the 1913 level by 11 per cent. The Soviet machine-building industry produced

33 per cent more than pre-war and the first home-manufactured tractors, lorries, tanks and aircraft had been produced by that time. The capacity of the Soviet power stations in 1927 was 2.5 times that of pre-revolutionary Russia. Industry's share in the national economy rose from 34 per cent in 1925 to 42 per cent in 1927. In 1928 the share of the socialist sector in total industrial output reached 82.4 per cent and in retail trading 76.4 per cent. The growth in big industries during the first year of industrialization amounted to 18 per cent. The number of factory and office workers in 1928 was 10,800,000. No capitalist country had ever achieved such high rates of industrial growth. This was proof of the immeasurable superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system. The successes achieved showed that the question of "who would win" in industry was already decided in favour of socialism. Private capital was also being rapidly squeezed out of trade—its share in retail trade had dropped from 52.7 per cent in 1924 to 23.6 per cent in 1928 while the figures for wholesale trade were 9.4 and 5 per cent respectively. The middle and poor peasant farms produced over 4,000 million poods of grain in the 1926/1927 year (before the revolution they produced 2,500 million); the kulak farms produced 617 million poods of which 126 million were marketed; the collective and state farms produced 80 million poods of which 37.8 million were marketed.

In 1927 the international situation deteriorated. With the consent of the British conservative government (Baldwin-Chamberlain) the Soviet trading company in London (Arcos) was raided on May 12 after which the British Government broke off diplomatic and commercial relations with the U.S.S.R. (May 27). Attacks on the Soviet Embassy in Peking and the Soviet Consulates in Shanghai and Tientsin were organized, and on June 7, P. A. Voikov, Soviet Ambassador to Poland, was murdered in Warsaw. The hostile forces inside the country grew more active, the Trotskyites resorting to underground anti-Soviet activities. The Communist Party defeated the Trotskyites in the ideological and organizational struggle and expelled them from the ranks of the Party.

On the initiative of the U.S.S.R. the conclusion of Non-Aggression and Neutrality pacts with Turkey and Germany was followed by similar treaties with Afghanistan (August 31, 1926), Lithuania (September 28, 1926) and Persia (October 1,

1927). In 1927 a Soviet delegation for the first time took part in the work of the preparatory commission for the Disarmament Conference and tabled a draft resolution on universal, complete and immediate disarmament.

Programme for the Collectivization of Agriculture

The Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) held in December 1927 summed up the first results of the struggle for socialist industrialization and determined the path of further socialist development, at the same time issuing directives for the First Five-Year Plan. The achievements of socialist industrialization showed that those industries in which socialist production relations had become established, developed on the basis of extended reproduction, that is, regularly increasing output. Agriculture was lagging far behind industry in its development and did not meet the growing requirements of the country. In the countryside at that time there were about 25 million petty peasant farms, a large number of which were not only unable to extend production but were scarcely able to provide for themselves. Although grain production in 1927 had almost reached the pre-war level the amount marketed was only about a quarter of the pre-war amount. This disrupted the supply of bread to the towns and the army and threatened to disrupt the socialist industrialization of the country. There was an obvious contradiction between the two main branches of economy—socialist industry and private farming. Soviet power and socialist construction could not continue to have as their foundation two radically different bases—large-scale socialist industry and petty individual farming which engendered capitalist elements. Petty, scattered, individual farming prevented the use of modern, highly productive machinery and the introduction of scientific farming. It was not capable of increasing agricultural output. Lenin had shown the way out of the situation in his plan for co-operation which envisaged the transition of the small peasant farms to big socialist agricultural enterprises, the collective farms. It would have been impossible to provide socialism with a sound economic foundation without the collectivization of agriculture; nor would it have been possible to raise the many millions of peasants out of their state of poverty and ignorance.

The Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party showed the way collectivization was to be carried out. A draft plan was evolved for the extension and strengthening of the collective-farm network and for a further offensive against the kulaks. Socialist construction, both urban and rural, was carried on under conditions of a sharpening class struggle. The kulaks refused to deliver their grain surpluses to the Soviet state and there were grave difficulties in the way of getting in stocks of grain. By January 1928 the grain deficit amounted to 128 million poods. Soviet power, placing full reliance in the poor peasants and strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants, who constituted the majority of the working peasantry, launched an offensive against the kulaks. Extraordinary measures were adopted in respect of the kulaks—Article 107 of the Criminal Code said that grain surpluses in the hands of kulaks or speculators could be confiscated by order of the courts. The poor peasants were given 25 per cent of the confiscated grain.

The Bukharin-Rykov Right opportunist anti-Party group opposed the extraordinary measures in respect of the kulaks and also the Party line on collectivization. The Right capitulators also insisted on a slower rate of industrial development, the curtailment of collective and state farm organization and demanded that the government abandon its role of regulator in the sphere of trade. This opportunist group was defeated in the ideological field.

In 1928, at Shakhty in the Donets Basin, a big sabotage organization of old specialists was discovered; they were connected with the former mine-owners—Russian and foreign capitalists—and with foreign espionage services. The Shakhty group tried to prevent the growth of socialist industry. The saboteurs worked the pits incorrectly in order to lower the output of coal, spoiled machinery and ventilation, organized roof falls, explosions and fires in pits and at factories, power stations, etc. The participants in the sabotage were arraigned before the court and were meted out the punishment they deserved.

The Central Committee of the Party called on Party organizations and the workers to learn a lesson from the Shakhty affair. They pointed out that Bolshevik industrial managers should themselves master production technology. It was essential to accelerate the training of technical specialists from among the working class. At the same time the Central Com-

mittee of the Party appealed to the working people to make wide use of the principle of self-criticism to expose shortcomings in the work of Party and economic organizations and institutions. "The slogan of self-criticism is: 'No matter whom,' criticism from top to bottom and from bottom to top," said the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in a manifesto addressed to "All Party Members, to All Workers" (June 1928).

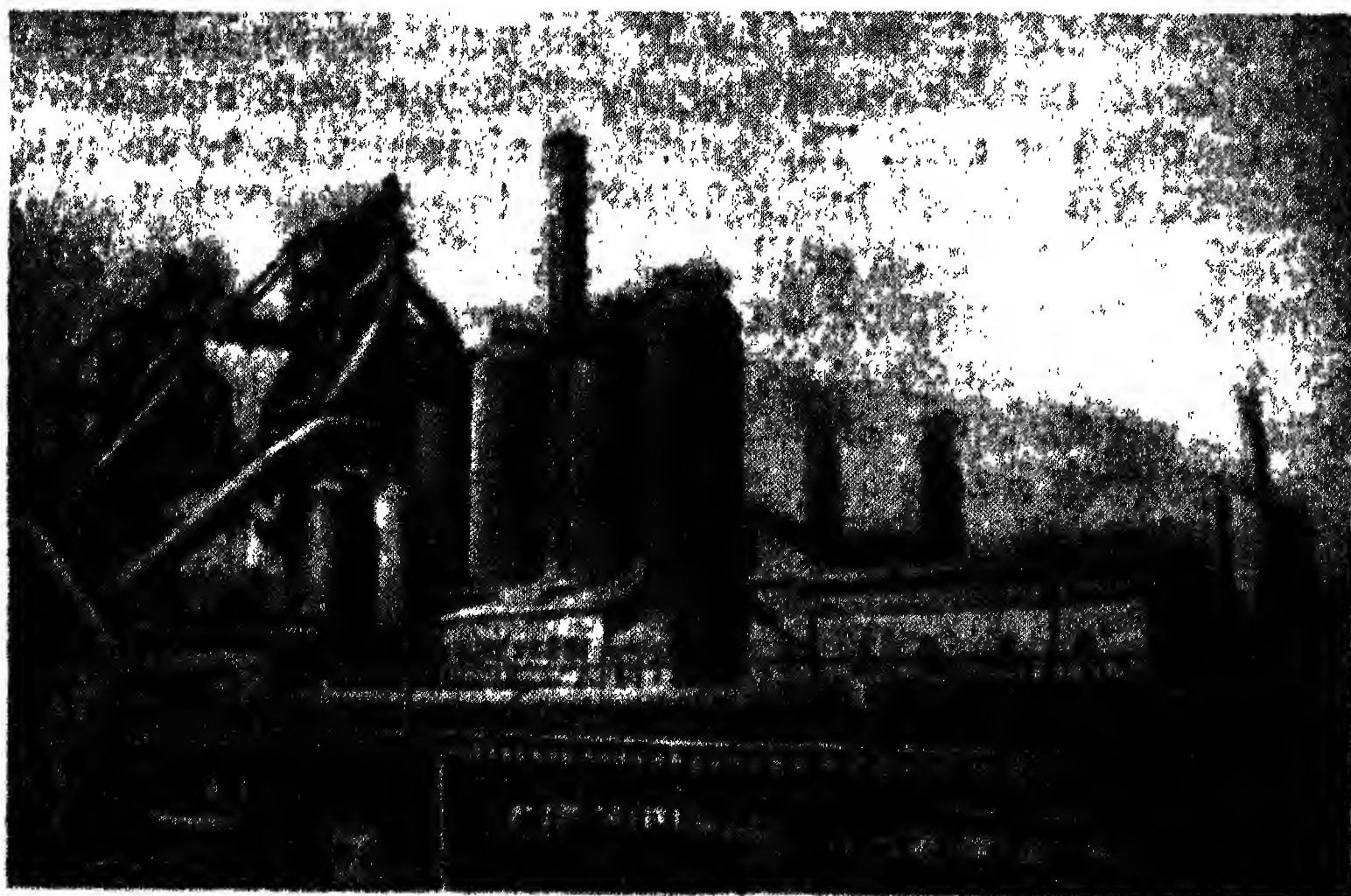
First Five-Year Plan (1929-1932). Laying the Economic Foundations of Socialism

The First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, approved by the Fifth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. (May 1929), was a concrete programme for the laying of the economic foundations of socialist society. The basic task of the plan was to create a powerful heavy industry in the country, an industry capable of re-equipping and reconstructing on socialist lines not only industry and transport but also agriculture. Investments in the national economy required for the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan amounted to 61,600 million rubles (in 1955 prices). The plan envisaged the priority all-round development of heavy industry as the basis of all socialist economy. Heavy industry took 78 per cent of the total allocations for all industry. The over-all output of industry was to be increased by 50 per cent, heavy industry by 230 per cent, machine-building by 250 per cent and electric power by 300 per cent. The smelting of iron was to be raised from 3,500,000 tons in 1927/1928 to 10,000,000 tons in 1932/1933, coal from 35 million to 75 million tons and oil from 11.5 million to 22 million tons respectively. A considerable advance was to be made in agriculture by the all-round development of the collective and state farms.

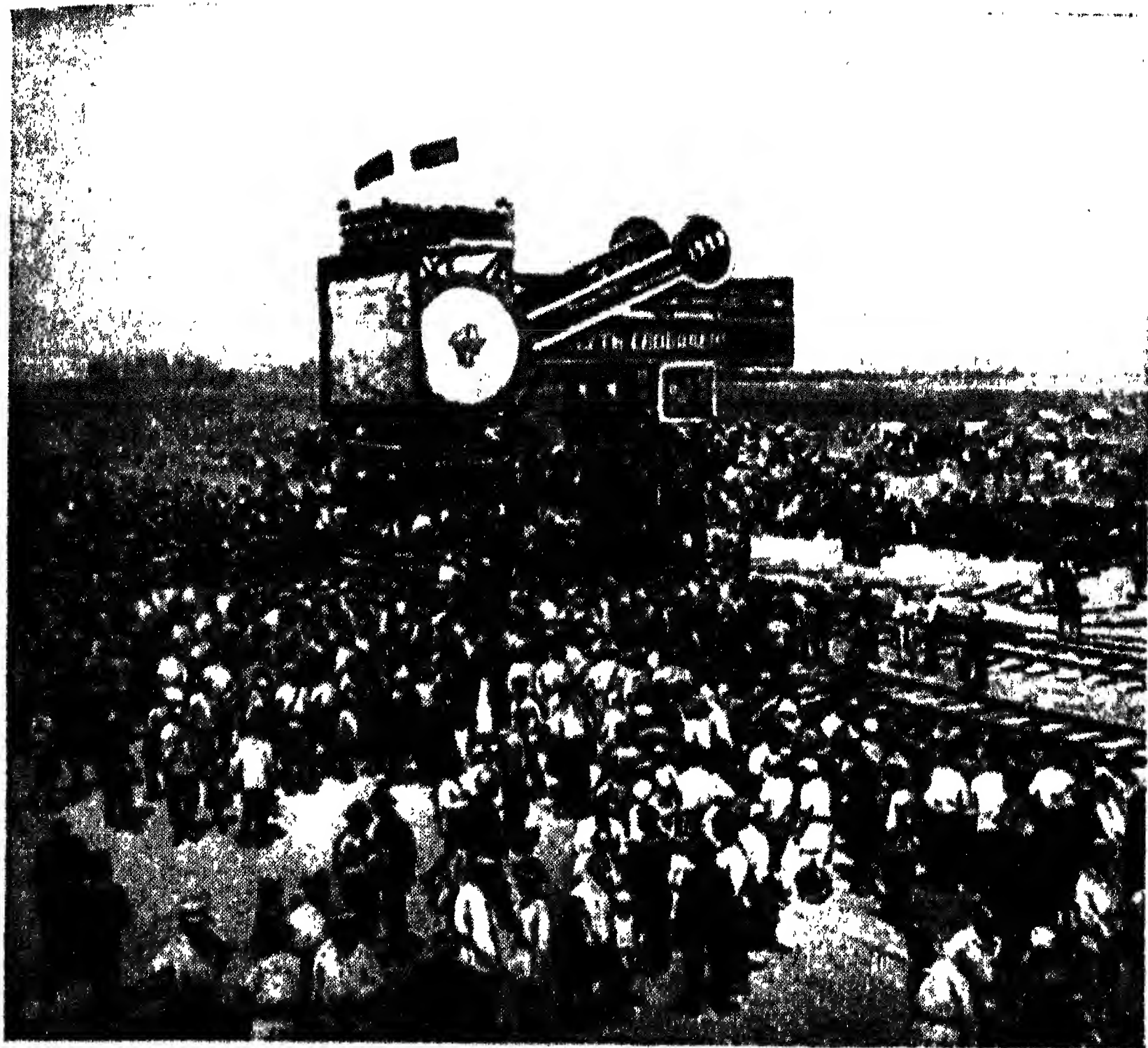
The Sixteenth Party Conference that approved the First Five-Year Plan (April 1929) addressed an appeal to all working people to organize extensive socialist emulation. During the years of the plan's fulfilment socialist emulation became a mass phenomenon by means of which the working class was able to display its creative activities. The basic form of emulation was the "shock workers" movement, "shock workers" being those most active participants in socialist emulation whose selfless efforts introduced a higher tempo into production work for others to emulate.

The Soviet people set about the fulfilment of the plan with the greatest enthusiasm; they had tremendous difficulties to overcome and they made great sacrifices. The building of the Dnieper Power Station, the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works, the Moscow and Gorky Automobile plants, the Kramatorsk and Gorlovka plants, the Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant, the Berezniki and Solikamsk Chemical Combines, the Turkestan-Siberian Railway and others proceeded at record pace. The building of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine and the second coal and iron centre of the Soviet Union, Kuznetsk Basin, was begun. Extensive socialist construction was carried on in the centre of the country, in the Ukraine, the Urals, Siberia, Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, in all corners of the Soviet Union.

The first year of the plan was a year of radical change in the matter of collectivization. In 1929 the mass organization of collective farms began, not only the poor but also the middle peasants who constituted the majority of the peasantry joining them. In 1928/1929 the peasant farms were distributed as follows: poor peasants 35 per cent, middle peasants 60 per cent and 4 to 5 per cent kulaks. The peasants joined the collective farms by whole villages and districts. The state farms grew up simultaneously and the first machine and tractor stations



The blast-furnaces of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine



The Turkestan-Siberian Railway. Opening of Alma-Ata Station,
1929

appeared; a decree by the Council of Labour and Defence (June 5, 1929) provided for the organization of MTS on a wide scale. The collective and state farms rapidly expanded the area planted to crops and the quantity of marketable produce, that of the collective farms alone increasing by 250 per cent in 1929 alone. The collective and state farms that year produced no less than 400 million poods of grain, of which over 130 million were for the market, i.e., more than the kulaks marketed in 1927. All the preliminary work of the Communist Party and the Government and the successful industrialization of the country prepared the way for the successful launching of collective farms. The collectivization of agriculture, however, was something new, untried and fraught with great difficulties. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government had

a gigantic social problem to solve, one that affected the lives of millions of peasants and was fundamental to socialist construction. The Soviet Union had come to a new period in its development—the organization of 100 per cent collectivization and on the basis of it the abolition of the kulaks as a class; until then the Soviet Government had pursued a policy of merely restraining the kulaks. This revolutionary transformation was carried out by Soviet power with the active and direct participation of the mass of poor and middle peasants. The new turn in the policy of Soviet power was fixed by the decisions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on “The Rate of Collectivization and Measures of State Aid in Collective-Farm Organization” (January 5, 1930) and of the Council of People’s Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on “Measures To Strengthen the Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture in Fully Collectivized Districts and the Struggle Against the Kulaks” (February 1, 1930). The Central Committee took into consideration the varying conditions and the different degrees



Signing up members for the collective farm at the village of Parfentyevo, Kolonna District, Moscow Region, 1930

of preparedness for collectivization in the various regions of the country and laid down different rates for the conduct of collectivization. All the regions of the U.S.S.R. were divided into three groups. The first group included the most important grain-growing regions—the North Caucasus and the Middle and Lower Volga—where there were more collective and state farms, more tractors and greater experience in the struggle against the kulaks; these were, in the main, to finish the process of collectivization by the spring of 1931. The second group of grain-growing regions—the Ukraine, the Central Black-Earth Region, Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan and others—by the spring of 1932. The third group which included all other regions, territories and republics (Moscow Region, the Transcaucasus, the Central Asian Republics, etc.) was to complete collectivization by the end of the five-year plan (1933). The basic form of collective farm was the agricultural co-operative that could most correctly combine the personal interests of the farmers with the community interests of the collective farm. The Central Committee stressed the Leninist principle of voluntary entry into the collective farms and warned Party organizations of attempts to “decree” the collective-farm movement from above. The extensive help given by the working class played an important part in the socialist reorganization of agriculture—25,000 of the best of the working class were sent to the countryside. This was a manifestation of the great strength of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Collectivization developed on an especially large scale at the end of 1929 and early in 1930. The collective farms gained the upper hand in the countryside in the course of a bitter struggle against the kulaks and their agents. By January 1930 over 5,000,000 peasant households had joined the collective farms—21.6 per cent of the total as compared with 3.9 per cent on July 1, 1929.

The successes in collective-farm organization, however, were accompanied by serious mistakes on the part of local Party and Soviet workers who, in their desire to achieve a high percentage of entry, tried to force collectivization artificially, thereby contravening the principles laid down by the Central Committee of the Party as well as the time and form of collective-farm organization. In some districts Party and Soviet workers violated Lenin's principle of voluntary co-operation and resorted to force in respect of the middle peasants, threat-

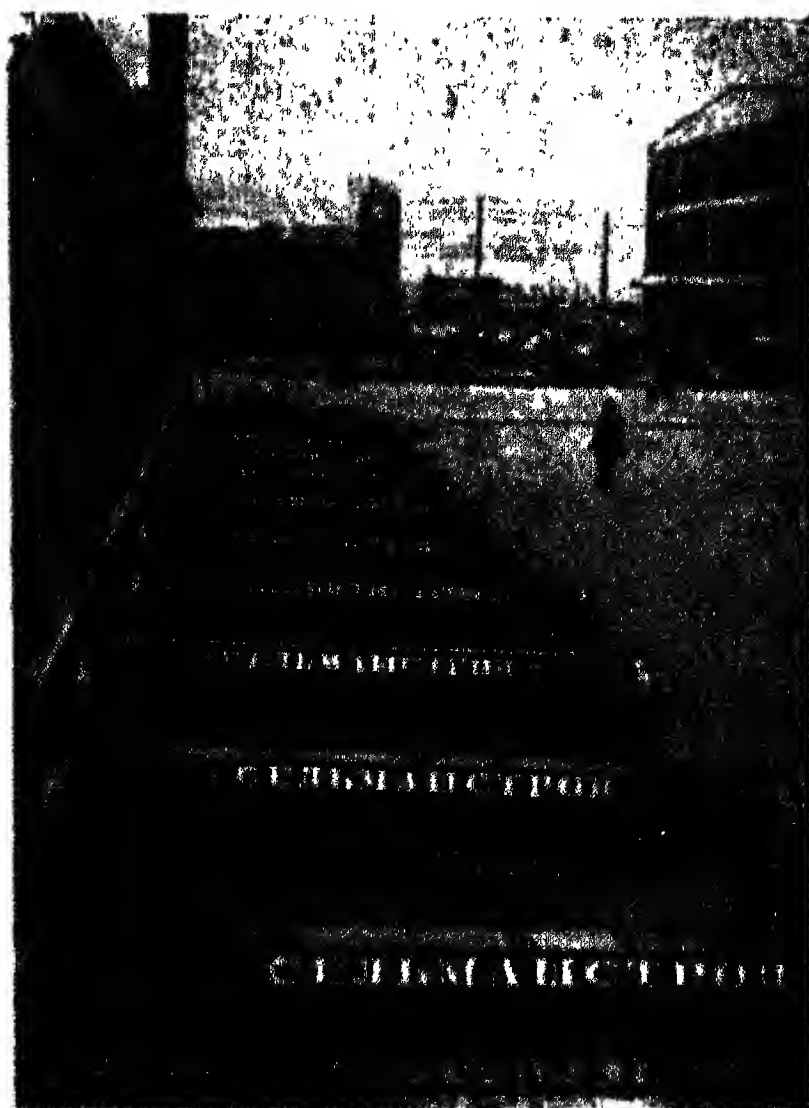
ening to treat them as kulaks and deprive them of civil rights. Cases of the bureaucratic publication of decrees compelling farmers to join the collective farms were revealed, this being used instead of the more lengthy and patient political explanation that was required by the Party. There were also cases of communes being organized instead of co-operatives, cases of attempts to socialize houses and outbuildings, the smaller domestic animals and even poultry as well as the chief means of production—draught animals, farm implements, etc. These Leftist deviations, this serious distortion of Communist Party policy on collective-farm organization, led to discontent among the peasantry in a number of regions in various parts of the country. Distortions of policy discredited the collective-farm idea in those regions and threatened to disrupt the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Enemies of Soviet power took advantage of the mistakes, especially the kulaks who resorted to sabotage and terrorism, carried on malicious anti-collectivization propaganda among the peasantry and persuaded them to slaughter their cattle before joining the collective farms. The enemies believed that the mistakes and distortions of policy by local organizations would anger the peasants to the extent that they would revolt against Soviet power and prevent collectivization. The Central Committee of the Communist Party took speedy and decisive measures to correct the mistakes that had been made and to deal with those who distorted the collectivization policy. On March 2, 1930, by a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Stalin's article, "Dizzy with Success," was published. On March 14, 1930, the Central Committee published a decision headed, "The Struggle Against Distortions of the Party Line on the Collective-Farm Movement." The Central Committee exposed the mistakes in collective-farm organization and showed that the practices of the "Lefts" had nothing in common with the Party line and were of advantage to class enemies alone. The correction of distortions led to some of the peasants, early in the spring of 1930, leaving those collective farms that had been formed by sheer administrative measures. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government consolidated successes achieved and ensured further progress in the collective-farm movement. By May 1, 1930, in the chief grain-growing regions collectivization embraced up to 40-50 per cent of all peasant households. By July 1, 1930, the collectivized peas-

ant households amounted to 23.6 per cent and the land they farmed to 33.6 per cent.

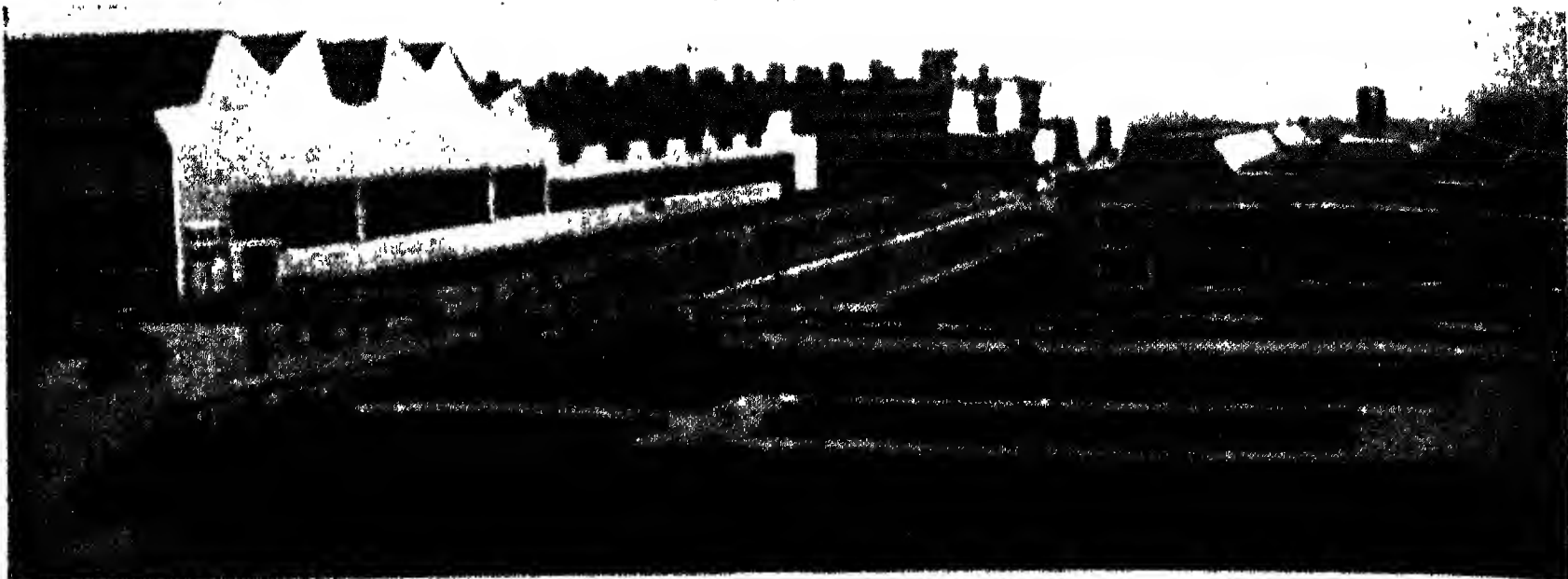
The Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), opened on June 26, 1930, has gone down in history as the congress of the extended offensive of socialism along the whole front, the abolition of the kulaks as a class and the implementation of mass collectivization. By this time the socialist sector occupied a dominant position in economy and the Soviet Union had entered the period of socialism. The share of industry in the country's total production was 53 per cent in 1929/1930 instead of 42.1 per cent in 1913. The level of industrial

development was 180 per cent of the pre-war level. On the eve of the Congress some of the biggest construction jobs of the First Five-Year Plan had been completed: on May 1, 1930, traffic was opened on the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, in June production was begun at the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, the first Soviet tractor-building enterprise, with a programme of 40,000 tractors a year, and the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works (Rostselmash), whose output was planned at 115,000,000 rubles a year (all 900 factories producing farm machinery and equipment in tsarist Russia had an output valued at only 70,000,000 rubles).

The workers had initiated the slogan: "The Five-Year Plan in Four Years!" Over two million workers were participating in socialist emulation and no less than a million worked in "shock brigades." The Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) set the goal of implementing the plan in four years by means of a further increase in the rate of industrialization and pointed to the necessity of completing collectivization in the main by the end of the five-year period and of strengthening the collective-farm system. The decisions of the Sixteenth Congress of



Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works, 24-row seeders, 1930



Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant, 1933

the Party called forth even greater political and labour enthusiasm among the masses.

The extended socialist offensive along the whole front was the cause of greater activity on the part of capitalist elements in town and village. In 1930 Soviet state bodies exposed a number of counter-revolutionary sabotage organizations—the “Industrial Party,” the “Peasants’ Labour Party” of the kulaks and the S.R.’s and the “Allied Bureau” of the Mensheviks. All these anti-Soviet organizations had connections with foreign espionage services and with the former owners of enterprises in Russia; they were engaged in sabotage and espionage and had as their objective the overthrow of Soviet power and the re-establishment of the bourgeois-landowner system in the country.

The Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, repulsed all the sallies of internal enemies.

The Sixth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. (March 8-17, 1931) mobilized forces and funds for the collectivization of agriculture and strengthening the collective-farm system, special attention being paid to the organization of labour and the strengthening of labour discipline among the collective farmers. Following this the Party and the Government concentrated more and more effort on the organizational and economic strengthening of the collective farms. On February 4, 1932, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) published a special decision on “Urgent Measures To Strengthen Collective Farms Organizationally and Economically.” On August 7, 1932, the Soviet Government adopted a law on “The Protection of the Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms and

Co-operatives and the Consolidation of Public (Socialist) Property." Soviet power increased its offensive against the kulaks who, defeated in open battle, had adopted other methods of struggle. The kulaks joined the collective farms and tried to disrupt them from within. In order to make the collective farms organizationally and economically stronger and to root out the kulaks from them, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), in January 1933, adopted a decision on the organization of political departments at the MTS serving the collective farms. The Party sent 17,000 of its members into the countryside for work in these political departments.

The development of Soviet economy necessitated the recasting of all branches on modern technical lines. Under the new conditions technology acquired a decisive significance. The Party put forward a new slogan: "In the Period of Reconstruction Technology Decides Everything." The attention of Party, Soviet and economic workers was concentrated on the mastery of new techniques; the creation of a new, Soviet technical intelligentsia from among the workers and peasants was undertaken.

The First Five-Year Plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule by the beginning of 1933, i.e., in four years and three months. This was an historic victory for the Soviet Union, the former agrarian country having developed into a socialist industrial power with a collectivized agriculture. Industry's share in the national economy rose to 70.7 per cent in 1932. The foundations of socialist economy had been laid. The total industrial output of the U.S.S.R. in 1932 was 267 per cent of that of 1913 and the output of big industries 352 per cent of the 1913 figure. Industrial enterprises equipped with the latest machinery to the number of 1,500 were built and started work; these included new branches of industry—tractors, motor vehicles, aircraft, machine-tools, heavy engineering, modern farm machinery, ferrous metallurgy and chemicals; a second coal and iron centre was opened up in the Kuznetsk Basin; a number of other new industrial centres appeared and the GOELRO plan was substantially overfulfilled. In the five-year period heavy industry had increased by 273 per cent, machine-building by 399 per cent (or 700 per cent of the pre-war figure). The output of consumer goods increased by 156 per cent. The average annual increase in industrial output during the five years was 22 per cent. The number of factory, professional and office workers

was almost doubled in the period and reached 22,600,000. A powerful defence industry was built up that radically improved the technical equipment of the armed forces and raised the defence potential of the country. The industrial development of the non-Russian Republics and the outlying districts of the U.S.S.R. was especially great; in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Transcaucasus, Tataria, Bashkiriya, Eastern and Western Siberia, the Far East, etc., a large number of industrial establishments were built during the First Five-Year Plan, creating many new industrial centres. The rate of industrial growth in these areas was much higher than in other industrial districts.

When the results of the five-year plan were summed up a number of serious shortcomings as well as successes were revealed. Although labour productivity had increased 41 per cent the targets for increased labour productivity, reduced production costs and making enterprises self-supporting were not reached. There were many reasons for this, chief among them being shortcomings in the organization of labour and wages, the low technical level and labour productivity of a section of the workers and deficiencies in planning. Some branches of industry did not fulfil their five-year plans: 21,400,000 tons of oil were extracted in 1932 instead of the 22,000,000 planned, 66,400,000 tons of coal were mined instead of the 75,000,000 tons planned and 6,200,000 tons of iron were smelted instead of the 10,000,000 tons required by the plan. Heavy industry as a whole fulfilled the plan ahead of schedule by 109.8 per cent, but the plan for consumer goods was fulfilled by only 84.4 per cent.

There were substantial achievements in the sphere of collectivization. In 1932 a total of 61.5 per cent of the peasant households owning 77.7 per cent of the total crop area had been collectivized. In the country's chief agricultural districts collectivization was completed. During the years of the First Five-Year Plan the farms received 121,000 tractors (totalling 1,900,000 h.p.) and farm machinery worth 1,600 million rubles. The social revolution and technical re-equipment proceeded simultaneously on the farms.

New socialist production relations became dominant in agriculture. The specific feature of the revolution in the countryside was that the initiative came from above, from state power, with direct and active support from below, from the mass of

poor and middle peasants. The fundamental problems of socialist construction in agriculture had been solved. The most numerous exploiting class in the country, the kulaks, the last hope for the restoration of capitalism, ceased to exist as a class. The land and implements belonging to the kulaks were handed over to the collective farms. Many millions of working peasantry entered the path of socialist construction. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry was strengthened. Soviet power had obtained a socialist base in the extensive, vitally necessary and, at the same time, most backward branch of economy, in agriculture. Soviet agriculture had become large-scale and mechanized. An important part in strengthening the collective farms organizationally and economically was played by the First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers held in Moscow in February 1933.

The socialist system of economy became the only one in industry and the dominant system in agriculture. Unemployment and the exploitation of man by man were abolished and conditions were established for the continual improvement of material conditions and the raising of the cultural level of the working people in town and village. The basic measure of the improved living standard of the Soviet people is the growth of the national income which by 1933 had increased by 85 per cent over the 1928 level and by 217 per cent over the 1913 level. The successes of socialist construction in town and village enabled the Soviet Government to abolish the ration card system on January 1, 1935 (it had been introduced for bread and other items in 1928).

The cultural revolution proceeded simultaneously with industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. The Sixteenth Party Congress passed a decision on the introduction of universal obligatory education, a decisive step towards a radical transformation in the cultural field. On August 14, 1930, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decision on "Universal Obligatory Elementary Education" which was put into effect throughout the country. The enrolment in elementary, secondary and higher schools was greatly increased: in schools offering general education it rose from 11,600,000 in 1927/1928 to 21,397,000 in 1932/1933, in technical schools from 189,400 to 724,000 and in higher schools from 168,500 to 504,400 respectively. The number of research institutions increased from

1,263 in 1929 to 1,908 in 1933 and the number of scientific workers was doubled. The Communist Party paid great attention to the development of literature and art, directing them on to the path of socialist realism. The aims of Soviet multinational literature and art were outlined in a decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) dated April 23, 1932, on "The Reorganization of Literary and Art Organizations." The results of the development of Soviet literature were summed up by Maxim Gorky, the founder of socialist realism, at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers (1934).

The socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union had been carried out in a very complicated international situation. In the summer of 1929 a conflict between China and the U.S.S.R. was provoked; Chinese militarists seized the Soviet-owned Chinese-Eastern Railway. They were repulsed by the Red Army and forced to agree to a peaceful settlement of the conflict (December 1929). On October 3, 1929, a protocol on the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Great Britain, broken off by the British Government in 1927, was signed. 1929 saw the onset of the world economic crisis in the capitalist countries. It developed against the background of the general crisis of the capitalist system. The industrial crisis spread to agriculture and affected all spheres of life, being most profound in its effect in the U.S.A. The economic crisis led to a considerable sharpening of all contradictions in the capitalist camp. The danger of a new war grew greater. The Japanese militarists, openly pursuing an expansionist policy (seizure of Manchuria in 1931), created a hotbed of war in the East. The German fascists, who came to power in January 1933 and rebuilt Germany's war-economic potential mainly by means of an influx of American capital, began the militarization of the country and preparations for the unleashing of the Second World War. A second hotbed of war was created in Europe. The governments of the U.S.A., Britain and France adopted the position of "conciliation" of the aggressors and "non-intervention" in their affairs. The reactionary forces in a number of Western countries wanted to direct fascist aggression against the Soviet Union and organize a "crusade" against the land of socialism. The Soviet Government pursued a firm policy of peace and the guaranteed security of the nations. The successful fulfilment of the First

Five-Year Plan, the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, the conversion of the U.S.S.R. into an economically powerful state raised the prestige of the Soviet Union in world affairs. On November 29, 1932, the Soviet Government concluded a Pact of Non-Aggression and Neutrality with France. Similar pacts were concluded in 1932 with Poland, Finland, Latvia and Estonia. In 1933 the U.S.S.R. concluded conventions defining aggression with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan. On November 16, 1933, normal diplomatic relations were established between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. On June 9, 1934, agreements on the establishment of diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia and Rumania were signed. On the invitation of the majority of the members of the League of Nations the Soviet Union joined the League on September 18, 1934. On May 2, 1935, the Soviet Government concluded a Pact of Mutual Assistance with France and a similar Pact with Czechoslovakia on May 16.

Second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937). The Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

At the beginning of 1933 the Soviet people launched their Second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937). This was a more extensive programme of socialist construction than the First Five-Year Plan had been. The Second Five-Year Plan was accepted by the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party (January 26 to February 10, 1934). The main political aim of the Second Five-Year Plan was the complete abolition of all capitalist elements and of all factors giving rise to class differences and exploitation and the overcoming of the vestiges of capitalism in economy and in the consciousness of the people. The plan envisaged the completion of economic reconstruction and the raising of the level of industrial output to 8 times that of 1913. Special attention was paid to the further economic and cultural development of the Union and Autonomous Republics. The technical reconstruction of transport and communications was given a prominent place in the plan. In this second five-year period the collectivization of the farms was to be completed and the collective farms were to be more intensively mechanized and strengthened organizationally and economically. The plan envisaged improved labour productivity and

lower production costs in all spheres of economy, a development of the cultural revolution and an all-round rise in the material and cultural level of the working people. Total investment required by the Second Five-Year Plan amounted to 141,400 million rubles (in 1955 prices), more than double that of the First Five-Year Plan.

In fulfilling the Second Five-Year Plan the Soviet people displayed some fine examples of political activity and labour heroism. As socialist industry became equipped with more and more highly productive machinery the country was confronted with the task of mastering the new machines and making effective use of them. The available technically trained personnel fell short of requirements and in 1935 the Party put forward a new slogan: "Cadres Decide Everything!"

Socialist competition was raised to a new and higher level. In 1935 the Stakhanov movement was initiated, a movement of innovators in socialist production who had completely mastered their machines. The initiators of this new form of competition were: A. G. Stakhanov and N. A. Izotov in coal-mining, P. F. Krivonos on the railways, A. Kh. Busygin in the automobile industry, N. S. Smetanin in the footwear industry, two girl weavers of the same name, the Vinogradovas, in the textile industry, V. S. Musinsky in the forestry industry, M. S. Demchenko, P. N. Angelina and K. A. Borin in agriculture and many others. The first All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites held in the Moscow Kremlin in November 1935 summed up experience gained and helped develop the movement. The movement took on a mass character that included a struggle for higher production quotas, greater productivity of labour and more efficient production methods. This played a decisive part in the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. Like the First, it was fulfilled, in the main, in four years and three months, i.e., by April 1, 1937.

Soviet industrial output by the end of 1937 was 2.2 times that of 1932, 4.46 times that of 1928 and 5.88 times that of 1913; big industrial enterprises had an output that was 8.1 times that of 1913; and 80 per cent of all industrial production was accounted for by factories newly built or radically rebuilt during the first two five-year plans. The number of new industrial enterprises that had begun work was 4,500. The White Sea-Baltic Canal (227 km.) was built and opened in

1933 and the Moskva-Volga Canal (128 km.) was opened in July 1937.

In May 1935 the first line of the Moscow Underground Railway (Metro) was opened.

During this five-year period the output of electric power increased by 160 per cent, coal extraction was almost doubled, iron smelting increased by 130 per cent (although the targets for coal and iron were not reached) and the output of steel was almost trebled. Three metallurgical giants—Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk and Makeyevka—smelted as much iron as the entire industry of pre-revolutionary Russia. The Dnieper Power Station alone was by this time producing more electric power than all the Russian power stations in 1913. Labour productivity in industry was raised by 82 per cent instead of 63 per cent as required by the plan. The overfulfilment of the plan in the sphere of labour productivity alone provided almost as many industrial goods in 1937 as all the factories of Russia in 1913. The number of factory, professional and office workers in 1937 was 26,700,000. The Soviet Union had become a powerful industrial country that was economically independent of the capitalist world and could provide its own industries, agriculture and armed forces with first-class equipment and armaments. Machine-building was developed on an especially large scale during the Second Five-Year Plan and in 1937 had an output worth 27,500 million rubles instead of the planned 19,500 million rubles; this was 20 times the 1913 output of that branch of industry. In 1927/1928 over a third of all machines received by the Soviet national economy were imported, among them 63 per cent of all tractors and 68 per cent of all motor vehicles. In 1932 about 13 per cent of all new machines were imported and in 1937 only 0.9 per cent. The Soviet Union not only stopped importing tractors, motor vehicles and farm machinery but began exporting them. In production technique and rates of industrial development the Soviet Union had outstripped the main capitalist countries.

During the Second Five-Year Plan collectivization was, in the main, completed. There were 243,500 collective farms in the country which accounted for 93 per cent of all peasant households and 99 per cent of the area under crops. The collective-farm system had been consolidated and the Second All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers (February 1935) adopted the Model Rules for the Agricultural Co-

operative, an important document for the collective farms. The land tilled by the collective farms was allotted to them for their use in perpetuity. In 1937, the socialist fields were cultivated with the aid of 456,000 tractors, 128,800 harvester combines, and 146,000 motor lorries, sufficient to mechanize the basic farm processes. The total output of farm produce in 1937 was 153.9 per cent of the 1932 output. The total area under crops had increased from 105 million hectares in 1913 to 135.3 million in 1937. Despite some successes, livestock-breeding, an important branch of agriculture, was still lagging behind.

The living standards of the Soviet people were rapidly improving; the national income rose from 21,000 million rubles in 1913 to 45,500 million rubles during the First Five-Year Plan and to 96,300 million during the Second Five-Year Plan, i.e., an increase of almost 460 per cent. During the Second Five-Year Plan period consumption was almost doubled and the state and co-operative trade turnover more than trebled; the real wages of factory, professional and office workers were more than doubled. The wages fund increased from 34,000 million rubles to 81,000 million; the state insurance fund from 4,600 million to 5,000 million rubles. The cash incomes of the collective farms increased from 5,661,900,000 rubles in 1933 to 14,180,100,000 rubles in 1937, mainly on account of the bigger, leading farms.

There were some important achievements in the cultural field. Enrolment in the elementary and secondary schools increased from 21,397,000 in 1932/1933 to 30,148,000 in 1937/1938; the number of higher school students increased from 112,000 in 1913 to 547,200 in 1937/1938 (in Britain, Germany, France, Italy and Japan together there were 420,700 students in 1937). The extensive development of higher and specialized secondary education solved the problem of creating a Soviet, real people's intelligentsia. The constant solicitude of the Party and the Government for progress in education, science, literature and art ensured a development of culture, national in form and socialist in content.

The successes of socialist construction abolished the economic and cultural backwardness of the formerly oppressed peoples. In December 1936 there were 11 Union Republics in the U.S.S.R.—the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Kazakh, Turkmenian, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tajik, Azerbaijan, Geor-

gian and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics. During the years of Soviet power the formerly backward outskirts of tsarist Russia had been transformed into socialist republics with a highly developed industry and large-scale mechanized agriculture. The peoples of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and some other parts of the country found their way to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalism. Many nationalities that formerly had no written language were provided with their first alphabets. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the non-Russian Republics had become literate. National working-class cadres and a national intelligentsia appeared.

Under the banner of the friendship of the peoples and proletarian internationalism new, socialist nations emerged and developed in the U.S.S.R.

Friendship between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. was one of the greatest victories of socialism. On the basis of the tremendous socialist transformation that had taken place the alliance of the working class and the peasantry grew still stronger. The basic motive forces in society became moral and political unity, the friendship of the peoples and Soviet patriotism. The Soviet social and state system proved the most viable and indestructible.

Following the path indicated by Lenin, the Communist Party led the peoples of the Soviet Union to the victory of socialism. In the U.S.S.R. the socialist ownership of the means of production was established as the economic foundation of Soviet society. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan state property (the property of the whole people) and collective-farm and co-operative property accounted for 98.7 per cent of the entire production fund of the Soviet Union. In the struggle for socialist construction the exploiting classes had disappeared entirely and the causes giving rise to the exploitation of man by man had ceased to exist. A new working class had come into being, a class that knew neither exploitation nor unemployment, a class possessing state power; a collective-farm peasantry had been formed that knew nothing of enslavement to the landowner or kulak, a peasantry freed of all forms of exploitation; and a new, genuinely people's Soviet intelligentsia had emerged from the ranks of the workers and peasants. In 1937, 94.1 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union were working for socialist enterprises. Of these factory, professional

and office workers constituted 36.2 per cent (17.6 per cent in 1928), collective farmers and small, co-operative producers, 57.9 per cent (2.9 per cent in 1928). Only 5.9 per cent of the population were individual peasants or producers not in co-operatives (74.9 per cent in 1928).

One of the greatest achievements of socialism was the formation of the new man, the Soviet man, with his new moral and political outlook, a conscientious and active builder of socialist society. The basic principle of socialism was applied in Soviet society: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The consistent growth of socialist production provided the conditions necessary for a considerable improvement in the material and cultural level of the people. The building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. was a triumph for the wise policy of the Communist Party, guided in its work by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism; it was the result of the heroic labour of the Soviet people.

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union was legislatively affirmed in the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the fundamental law of the Soviet state. The decision to change the Constitution of 1924 was taken at the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. (January-February 1935). On June 12, 1936, the draft of the new Constitution was published in the press for a nation-wide discussion that lasted five and a half months. On December 5, 1936, the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets approved the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The Constitution gave expression to the profound changes that had taken place in the lives of the Soviet people since the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was a Constitution of victorious socialism and of extensive socialist democracy. According to the new Constitution the election of deputies to all Soviets of Working People's Deputies was by universal, equal and direct suffrage and by secret ballot.

The adoption of the new Constitution had great historic importance. For the working people of the capitalist countries the Soviet Constitution became a great charter that called on them to fight against imperialist reaction, for democracy, peace and socialism. On December 12, 1937, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. was elected under the new Constitution. Out of an electorate of 94 million, 91 million, or 98.6 per cent, cast their votes. Of these 90 million people voted in favour of the

bloc of Communist and non-Party candidates. This was a mighty demonstration of the unity of the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the people. The Soviet Union had entered a new phase in its development—the period of the completion of socialist construction and the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

The Soviet people, the first to break mankind's road to socialism, had to overcome untold difficulties on that road. They had to make up Russia's age-old economic, technical and cultural lag and build a new world despite the furious resistance put up by class enemies and their agents in the country. Inside the Party the Trotskyites, the Right opportunists and bourgeois nationalist elements conducted a fierce attack on the general line of socialist construction. They were exposed and defeated by the Party under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by J. V. Stalin who had gained great prestige in the Party and among the people. All these years the Soviet Union was like a beleaguered fortress in a capitalist encirclement, under constant threat of imperialist aggression.

Under these circumstances it became necessary to ensure the strictest discipline and the centralized leadership of the country and to restrict democracy to the extent required by the logic of the struggle for socialism. In this extremely complicated situation there arose the personality cult of J. V. Stalin, something that is alien to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist system. The successes that were achieved by the efforts of the Party and the people began to be attributed to Stalin. The personality cult led to a belittling of the role of the Party and its Central Committee and of the masses, minimized the role of collective leadership in the Party and in the governmental machine; this frequently led to a contravention of Leninist standards in Party life, to serious lapses in work and the crudest breaches of socialist legality. The personality cult did great damage to the Communist Party and Soviet society but it could not and did not change the nature of the socialist system established in the country. By breaking new paths in history the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, performed an heroic feat in building socialism in a gigantic and formerly backward country occupying one-sixth of the earth's land surface.

**The U.S.S.R. Enters the Period of the Completion
of Socialist Construction and the Beginning
of the Gradual Transition to Communism (1938-1940)**

The Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) held in March 1939 summed up the achievements of the Soviet people in building socialist society and laid down a programme for the further advance of the Soviet Union towards the completion of that task and the gradual transition from socialism to communism when life would be regulated by the guiding principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The Party defined the way in which the transition from socialism to communism was to be made and mobilized the Soviet people for the solution of urgent problems in communist construction, basing its programme on the fact that the Soviet Union possessed everything necessary to build a communist society. The Congress outlined the basic economic task of the Party and the people—to overtake and surpass the leading capitalist countries economically, i.e., in per capita production.

The Third Five-Year Plan (1938-1942), approved by the Eighteenth Congress of the Party, envisaged a further advance in socialized production, an all-round improvement in the material and cultural level of the working people and a strengthening of the defence potential of the Soviet state. Soviet industry planned a 92-per cent production increase by the end of the period. Capital construction investments were fixed at 192,000 million rubles (in three and a half years the sum of 138,700 million rubles [1955 prices] was actually invested). Over-all agricultural output was to be increased by 52 per cent. It was planned to double the national income and increase per capita consumption by 50-100 per cent. The plan also envisaged the introduction of obligatory seven-year education in the rural areas and ten-year education for the towns.

The over-all targets of the Third Five-Year Plan were, in the main, being reached; in the course of three years about 3,000 new industrial enterprises went into production and the output of capital goods was increased by 53 per cent. In 1938 and 1939 alone labour productivity in industry was increased by 39.8 per cent. In those years, however, a number of important branches of industry failed to reach their targets. In the course

of three years the output of iron and steel increased by only 3 per cent, rolled stock by 1 per cent, oil by 9 per cent. The output of the electrical goods and automobile industries, and the tractor, transport, general, road-building and construction-machinery industries was lower in 1940 than in 1937.

Socialist construction during the Third Five-Year Plan period was carried on under strained pre-war conditions. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government in view of the threat of war devoted the greatest attention to the development of the defence industries and to raising the defence potential of the country.

The fascist aggressors had taken the road of unleashing a second world war. The Soviet Government unswervingly pursued a policy of peace and commercial relations with all countries, struggled against the warmongers and for the establishment of a system of collective security. Following the conclusion of mutual assistance pacts with France and Czechoslovakia the Soviet Union concluded a similar pact with the Mongolian People's Republic on March 12, 1936. After Japan's bandit attack on China the U.S.S.R., on August 21, 1937, concluded a non-aggression pact with China that had great significance for the Chinese people under the conditions that prevailed at that time. The attempt made by Japanese aggressive forces to violate, in July 1938, the Soviet Union's Far-Eastern frontier in the vicinity of Lake Hassan was repulsed by the Red Army; a further defeat was inflicted on the Japanese when they invaded the Mongolian People's Republic at Khalkhyn Gol in the period May-August 1939. The aggressors did not succeed in involving the Soviet Union in a major war in the Far East. Fascist Germany, with the connivance of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A., seized Austria in 1938 and Czechoslovakia in 1938-1939. In an atmosphere of threatening war the U.S.S.R. strengthened its armed forces. Between 1934 and 1939 the strength of the Red Army was more than doubled; by 1939 the supply of tanks to the Red Army had been increased more than 43 times, aircraft almost 6.5 times, machine-guns 5.5 times, artillery 7 times and anti-tank and tank guns 70 times the strength of 1930. Naval tonnage was increased by 130 per cent. Two new fleets, the Pacific and Northern, were built up. The British and French governments, in an effort to cover up their treachery at Munich by diplomatic manoeuvres, in 1939 started negotiations with the Soviet Government for

the conclusion of a mutual assistance pact. Agreement was not reached, however, through the fault of reactionary ruling circles in Britain and France. In the situation that developed the Soviet Union was compelled to accept Germany's proposal for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact for a period of 10 years (signed on August 23, 1939) and this gave the Soviet Union twenty-two months' peace in which to strengthen the defence potential of the country. With the beginning of the Second World War (September 1, 1939) the Soviet Government effected a number of new measures to increase defence potential. On September 1, 1939, the Supreme Soviet passed a law on "Universal Military Service" which completed the transition from a partial territorial and partial regular army system to a fully regular army. Allocations to strengthen the armed forces were increased. Of great importance was the fortification of the Soviet frontiers. After Germany's attack on Poland and the collapse of the Polish bourgeois-landowner state the Soviet Government issued an order to the Red Army (September 17, 1939) to cross the frontier and take under its protection the lives and property of the population of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, territories that had been alienated from the Soviet Union by Poland in 1920. The peoples of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia (a population of 10,000,000) were liberated from social and national oppression. On September 17, 1939, the Red Army also took under its protection Vilnius and the Vilnius region which the Soviet Government then returned to Lithuania. The Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (November 1-2, 1939) at the request of the peoples of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia accepted them into the U.S.S.R., the former becoming part of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the latter part of the Byelorussian S.S.R. In September and October 1939 the U.S.S.R. concluded mutual assistance pacts with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The attempts of the rulers of those countries to prevent the fulfilment of the pacts concluded with the U.S.S.R. aroused the indignation of the Baltic peoples with the result that after twenty years of rule the bourgeois nationalist governments of those countries were overthrown (June 1940). On July 14 and 15, 1940, elections to the People's Sejms of Latvia and Lithuania and the State Duma of Estonia were held. In July the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian peoples re-established Soviet power

in their countries. The Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics were formed and voluntarily entered the Soviet Union in August 1940.

In November 1939, the militarists in Finland, on the orders of fascist Germany and reactionary forces in other countries, provoked a war with the Soviet Union. In response to this the Soviet Union was compelled to launch operations in order to protect its north-western frontiers. Soviet troops broke through a powerful line of defences and forced Finland to capitulate. The Soviet-Finnish Peace Treaty, concluded on March 12, 1940, established a new frontier between Finland and the Soviet Union that would ensure the security of Leningrad and Murmansk. The Karelian Isthmus with the city of Vyborg (Viipuri) was annexed to the U.S.S.R. On March 31, 1940, a considerable part of the annexed territory was handed over to the Karelian A.S.S.R. which was reformed as the Karelian-Finnish S.S.R. On June 26, 1940, the Soviet Government proposed to Rumania that she return to the U.S.S.R. the territory of Bessarabia that had been seized in 1918 and hand over the northern part of Bukovina that was inhabited by Ukrainians. On June 28 Rumania accepted the proposal. The family of Soviet peoples was joined by 3,700,000 new citizens. The territory of Northern Bukovina and some of the Bessarabian districts inhabited mainly by Ukrainians were joined to the Ukrainian S.S.R. The greater part of Bessarabia was joined to the Moldavian A.S.S.R. which, on August 2, 1940, became a Union Republic.

On the eve of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet Union was a mighty industrial socialist power with a collective-farm system of agriculture, and consisted of 16 Union Soviet Socialist Republics with a population of 191,700,000. In 1940 Soviet large-scale industry produced almost 12 times as much as Russian large-scale industry in 1913; the total output of the engineering and metalworking industries was 35 times as much as those industries produced before the revolution. The Soviet Union had the highest industrial output in Europe and second in the world. Agriculture had made great progress. In 1940 there were 7,069 MTS; 531,000 tractors, 181,700 harvester combines, 228,000 motor lorries and hundreds of thousands of modern farm machines were working on Soviet farms. Three-quarters of the ploughing and half the sowing in the collective farms was done by tractors and 43 per cent of the total area

under grain was reaped by harvester combines. The achievements of the collective-farm system were demonstrated at the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow in 1939.

The heroic efforts of the Soviet people had created a powerful economy—the basis for the defence of the U.S.S.R.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-1945

German fascism, the most aggressive section of world imperialism, unleashed the Second World War in its effort to achieve world domination. In the course of 1939-1941 German fascist armies occupied Poland, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Norway, France, Greece and Yugoslavia. Having conquered the greater part of Western Europe the Hitlerites then turned to the implementation of their aggressive plans against the U.S.S.R.

On June 22, 1941, treacherously violating the Non-Aggression Pact, fascist Germany invaded the U.S.S.R. without a declaration of war. Germany's allies and vassals, Italy, Finland, Rumania and Hungary, also entered the war against the Soviet Union. Peaceful socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. was interrupted and the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against the German fascist invaders began—the most brutal of all wars that the country had ever been involved in.

Fascist Germany hoped to gain a rapid victory over the Soviet Union by means of a blitzkrieg. Hitler's government hoped to establish a common capitalist coalition and completely isolate the Soviet Union in world affairs. The German fascist rulers counted on the instability of the Soviet system, on the instability of the multinational state and the Soviet hinterland and on the weakness of the Red Army. The predatory plans of Hitler Germany and her associates, however, suffered a complete defeat.

Confronted with the gravest danger, when the question of the life or death of the Soviet state, the liberty and independence of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. was being decided, the Soviet people displayed untold fortitude, unexampled heroism and valour in the defence of their socialist Fatherland. The Soviet people mustered still more strongly round the Communist Party and under its leadership arose in a just and sacred war of liberation against the German fascist invaders. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union was a severe test of

all the moral and physical qualities of the Soviet people, a test in which the stability and viability of the Soviet state and social structure were proved to be much superior to those of the capitalist system.

Great as the sacrifices were that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. were called upon to make, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the glorious Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the Communist Party, honorably fulfilled their great mission, defended the liberty and independence of their socialist country and saved the peoples of Europe and Asia from the fascist yoke.

In the early period of the war German fascist troops achieved big successes and compelled the Soviet forces to withdraw. There were a number of reasons for these successes. The U.S.S.R. was invaded by an army of 190 divisions (153 German, 18 Finnish, 17 Rumanian and 2 Hungarian); the land forces were supported by about 5,000 aircraft and the main naval forces. Nazi Germany's armed forces had behind them the economic and manpower resources of the enslaved countries of almost the entire European continent, were fully mobilized and had two years' experience of modern warfare in Europe. They were equipped with large quantities of new weapons and machines. The U.S.S.R. was at first compelled to fight alone against the coalition of fascist states because the second front in Europe was not opened until June 1944. As they did not meet with effective resistance in the West Hitler's army command was able, without hindrance, to concentrate and dislocate forces on the Soviet frontiers so as to hurl their main body against the Soviet Army.

Before the war began the Soviet Army, unlike the German Army, had had no experience in the conduct of large-scale modern warfare. The reorganization and re-equipment of the Soviet Armed Forces had not been completed at the time of German attack on the U.S.S.R.

One of the causes of the Soviet failures at the beginning of the war was the incorrect estimation of the pre-war situation made by J. V. Stalin, who then stood at the head of the government. Stalin overestimated the significance of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact and did not believe information received concerning Germany's preparations for an invasion of the U.S.S.R. This was one of the reasons for the Soviet troops in the western parts of the country being taken by surprise.

Soviet troops defending the frontiers fought heroically but in the face of vastly superior forces were compelled to retreat with very heavy losses.

By the beginning of July the fascist armies had seized Lithuania, the greater part of Latvia, western part of Byelorussia and some of the western regions of the Ukraine, and still continued to advance. An extremely difficult and dangerous situation arose for the Soviet Union. This, however, did not crush the fighting spirit of the Soviet Armed Forces and did not shake the firmness of the Soviet people nor their profound belief in the victory of their just cause.

The Communist Party, its Central Committee and the Soviet Government adopted all possible measures to repulse the enemy. European U.S.S.R. was placed under martial law on June 22, 1941, and mobilization was ordered in 14 army commands. On June 29 the Central Committee and the Government approved a letter of instruction addressed to all Party and state bodies containing the militant programme of struggle elaborated by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. The letter of instruction was a programme of action that analysed the military and international situation, exposed the predatory, bandit nature of German imperialism and laid down the tasks of the Soviet people and the Soviet Army in the Great Patriotic War. The contents of the letter were contained in Stalin's radio speech on July 3. On June 30, 1941, the State Defence Committee (S.D.C.) was organized under the chairmanship of J. V. Stalin for the mobilization of manpower and material resources to repulse the invaders. The S.D.C. effected the military, economic and political leadership of the country and had full state power concentrated in its hands.

The Communist Party, the guiding, organizing and directing force in the people's struggle against the German fascist invaders, mobilized everything for victory. The Party sent its leading members to critical points at the front and in the rear, and many members of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics, Territorial, Regional and District Party Committees worked in the army.

J. V. Stalin was appointed Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Armed Forces and remained at that post until the victorious end of the war. The Armed Forces were directed by

the Staff of the Supreme Command and by the commanders and Military Councils of the fronts.

At the call of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government hundreds of thousands of Soviet people joined the army. The recruiting offices were besieged by volunteers—workers, collective farmers and Soviet intellectuals who demanded to be sent immediately to the front. In addition to the troops mobilized by the army authorities the towns and regions in the neighbourhood of the front organized their home guard contingents. In the summer of 1941, 11 divisions of the home guard and dozens of destroyer battalions were formed in Moscow. In Leningrad about 200,000 people joined the home guard. Hundreds of thousands of civilians took part in building lines of defence around Leningrad and Moscow. From the first days of the war a strong partisan movement was organized by Soviet patriots behind the enemy lines.

The Central Committee of the Party and the State Defence Committee with the aid of local Party, Soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations recast the entire national economy on a war footing. The country was turned into a single military camp. The reorganization of industrial enterprises for war-time production was carried on at high speed. Thousands of factories that had formerly produced civilian goods rapidly organized the mass production of munitions, weapons and equipment. Big industrial enterprises and millions of people were successfully evacuated from the war zone to the eastern parts of the country. Despite the privations, food difficulties and insufficient housing accommodation in the new regions, Soviet people worked selflessly, depriving themselves of their leisure. The erection of the evacuated enterprises in the Urals, Siberia, Central Asia and the Volga-side regions was in many cases effected in one or two months and in three or four months production in them had reached the pre-war level. The Soviet Government, the People's Commissariats, the State Planning Committee, local representatives of the S.D.C. undertook the direct guidance of the fulfilment of military-economic plans. New People's Commissariats were formed: the Mortar Production and the Tank Industry Commissariats. Ration cards were instituted to ensure the regular supply of food and consumer goods and to keep prices at a low level.

The working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and in-

spired by the Communist Party, displayed wonderful examples of labour productivity, labour discipline and socialist sense of duty. New forms of socialist competition came into being at the very beginning of the war: there was the movement to turn out two or three quotas (for the worker himself and for his fellow-workers at the front), the movement to work on more machines than foreseen by general standards, the movement to acquire a second trade, etc. Hundreds of thousands of women took the places of their brothers, husbands and fathers when the latter went off to the front, and rapidly mastered factory trades. Tens of thousands of old-age pensioners returned to their factories. Millions of young people in town and village, many of them adolescents, went to the factories and mines to work. During the war the state system of vocational training schools alone trained over two million young workers for industry. Komsomol Front-Line Youth Brigades were organized in the factories. People of initiative sought ways of mobilizing internal resources, evolved new technological methods to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the output of the defence industries. Under extremely difficult war conditions, with great reductions in manpower and machines, the collective farmers worked heroically to supply the needs of the army and the civil population. The area under crops in the eastern regions was increased. Men and women collective farmers contributed grain and livestock products to the defence fund over and above delivery quotas to the state. In May 1942, on the initiative of the metalworkers, aircraft and tank industry workers, the Soviet people launched an all-Union socialist emulation to render maximum aid to the front. The workers of all industries, railway and water transport workers, and then the MTS and state-farm workers and many thousands of collective farms joined in the competition. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry became still stronger. A rapidly growing war economy was established in the U.S.S.R.—this was material basis for victory over the German fascist invaders.

In the summer of 1941 Soviet troops heroically defended every inch of their native land in fierce rearguard actions, inflicting tremendous losses on the enemy and destroying his best units and equipment. From the first days of the war Soviet forces displayed great mass heroism on many occasions. Battles were fought for over two months in succession in the

Smolensk and Kiev areas where the Germans suffered heavy losses. The heroic defence of Odessa lasted 69 days and that of Sevastopol, 250 days, in both of which the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet played an important part. There was heavy fighting in Estonia for six weeks. The great epic of the Leningrad defence, that began at the end of August 1941, lasted over 900 days. The entire population of Leningrad defended their city together with Red Army units and the sailors of the Baltic Fleet. In the early period of these defensive battles the Soviet Guards came into being (on September 18, 1941, the 100th, 127th, 153rd and 161st infantry divisions were renamed "Guards Divisions"). The military and political cadres trained by the Communist Party grew and were tempered in these battles.

In the Great Patriotic War the Soviet people were not alone. Their struggle for the liberty and independence of their Fatherland merged with the struggle of the peoples of Europe, Asia and America for their independence and democratic liberties. The Soviet Union became the leading and decisive force in the anti-Hitler coalition which was formed during the war. On July 12, 1941, an agreement on joint operations in the war against Hitler Germany was concluded between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. On July 18 an agreement was concluded with the Government of Czechoslovakia, on July 30 with the Government of Poland. From September 29 to October 1, 1941, the Moscow Conference of Representatives of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Great Britain adopted joint decisions on the question of utilizing the resources of the anti-Hitler coalition in the struggle against the aggressors. The formation of the anti-Hitler coalition was an important success for Soviet foreign policy.

By the autumn of 1941, at the cost of heavy losses in men and machines, Nazi troops succeeded in blockading Leningrad on the land side and in reaching the approaches to Moscow and Rostov-on-Don. There was particularly heavy fighting in the Moscow area. The capital of the U.S.S.R. was in danger. A decision of the S.D.C. on October 19, 1941, declared Moscow to be in a state of siege. The whole country came to the defence of Moscow. In the defensive battles in the environs of Moscow during October and November, Soviet troops fought heroically. The enemy forces were worn out, they had been badly mauled and had lost their offensive spirit. On December 5 and 6,

the troops of the Western Front (Commander, General G. K. Zhukov, member of the Military Council N. A. Bulganin), Kalinin Front (Commander, General I. S. Konev, member of the Military Council D. S. Leonov) and the right wing of the South-Western Front (Commander, Marshal S. K. Timoshenko, member of the Military Council N. S. Khrushchov) launched a determined counter-offensive that ended in the first big defeat suffered by the German armies in the Second World War. The enemy was thrown back from Moscow to a distance of 120-350 kilometres; 60 towns and about 11,000 villages were liberated. The victory at Moscow in the winter of 1941-1942 and the successes of Soviet troops at Tikhvin and Rostov completely disrupted Hitler's plans for a blitzkrieg.

In the spring of 1942 the Soviet command intended to exploit the successes of the winter offensive and consolidate the strategic initiative that had been gained. The German command, however, having mobilized the economic resources of Germany and the occupied countries and taking advantage of the absence of a second front in Europe, transferred about 50 fresh divisions to the Soviet-German front. The U.S.S.R. was actually fighting against Germany and her allies unaided. By the summer of 1942 the German command had concentrated 266 divisions on the Soviet-German front (193 of them German, about 80 per cent of the total German armed forces). As there was no hope of a successful frontal attack on Moscow the Germans developed big offensive operations in the south to capture the oil regions of the Caucasus, the Stalingrad industrial area and the agricultural regions of the Don and Kuban steppes. More than 80 enemy divisions took part in the offensive in the south. The Soviet Army, as had been the case in the summer of 1941, again had to fight exhausting rearguard actions and retreat over a considerable distance. Gigantic efforts were required of the people and their armed forces to check the enemy advance in the vicinity of Voronezh, on the Don, outside Stalingrad and in the foot-hills of the Caucasus Mountains.

In 1941-1942 the situation in the Soviet Union was an extremely serious one. The Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic Republics, the western, north-western and some of the southern regions of the R.S.F.S.R. were under enemy occupation. Before the war these areas had had a population of 88 million; they had produced 33 per cent of all the country's industrial output, con-

tained 47 per cent of the farmlands of the Soviet Union and about 50 per cent of the country's cattle herds. The enemy set up their fascist regime of occupation throughout the territories in their hands. The Nazis plundered and ruthlessly exterminated the population. Soviet people, guided by underground Party organizations, increased the partisan struggle, the struggle of the whole people, against the invaders. In the summer and autumn of 1942 especially heavy fighting took place around Stalingrad and inside the city. The troops of the Stalingrad Front sold every inch of ground with extortion; the enemy's losses were tremendous. The Stalingrad Party organization mobilized the inhabitants of the city for its defence. Excellent work in consolidating the fighting potential of the troops and in mobilizing the efforts of the local population for the defence of Stalingrad was carried out by N. S. Khrushchov, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and a member of the Military Council of the Stalingrad Front.

The heroic defence of Stalingrad enabled the Supreme Command to gain time and concentrate strategic reserves and large numbers of tanks and guns at Stalingrad. The country's factories were by that time turning out military equipment on a large scale.

After wearing down and exhausting the enemy the Soviet Army prepared for a counter-offensive in the vicinity of Stalingrad. An active part in elaborating the plan for the Stalingrad counter-offensive was taken by General A. I. Yeremenko, Commander of the Stalingrad Front, and General N. S. Khrushchov, member of the Military Council of the Front; General N. F. Vatutin, Commander of the South-Western Front, and General A. S. Zheltov, member of the Military Council; General K. K. Rokossovsky, Commander of the Don Front, and A. I. Kirichenko, member of the Military Council. A share in the elaboration of the plan also belongs to General G. K. Zhukov, Deputy Supreme Commander-in-Chief, and leading members of the General Staff headed by General A. M. Vasilevsky. On November 19 and 20, 1942, the troops of the South-Western, Stalingrad and Don fronts launched a decisive counter-offensive near Stalingrad and surrounded a German army over 300,000 strong. The Germans brought up a strong force under Manstein to relieve their beleaguered troops at Stalingrad but the attempt failed largely owing to the excellent operation of the 2nd Guards

Army under General R. Y. Malinovsky. By February 2, 1943, the encircled German army was completely crushed. The Battle of Stalingrad was the turning-point in the course of the Great Patriotic War and of the Second World War and was of great international significance. The Soviet Army developed its offensive over a considerable length of the front and inflicted a number of serious defeats on the enemy. In January 1943 the siege of Leningrad was raised, the North Caucasus and part of the Donets Basin and other territories were liberated.

A decisive event of the fighting on the fronts of the Second World War in the summer of 1943 was the Battle of Kursk (July 5 to August 23). The German command mustered a huge force for an offensive against Kursk—an army of 550,000 men with more than 6,000 guns, 2,700 tanks and self-propelled guns and 2,000 aircraft. The Soviet command discovered the enemy's intentions in good time. The defence put up by the troops of the Voronezh and Central fronts was not only sufficient to repulse the enemy's drive but also provided favourable conditions for a counter-offensive by the armies of five fronts. The German army suffered such a tremendous defeat that it predetermined the subsequent military defeat of Hitler Germany. At the Battle of Kursk the Soviet Army defeated the fascist command's last attempt to alter the course of events by an offensive with huge forces. After the utter defeat of the Germans at Kursk the initiative was completely in the hands of the Soviet command. The mighty summer and autumn offensive of the Soviet Army began on a front of 2,000 km., from the upper reaches of the Dnieper to Novorossiisk. During that summer and autumn Soviet troops advanced up to 300 km. on the central section of the front and some 600 km. on the southern section, smashed 118 German fascist divisions, liberated Orel, Kursk, Kharkov, the entire Donets Basin and forced the Dnieper. On November 6, 1943, Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, was liberated.

The partisans of the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukraine and Byelorussia afforded the Soviet Army great assistance. The names of the partisan heroes, V. A. Andreyev, M. I. Duk, A. F. Fyodorov, G. P. Ignatov, P. K. Ignatov ("Batya"), Y. P. Ignatov, A. Y. Kleishchov, V. I. Kozlov, S. A. Kovpak, L. K. Melnikov, M. I. Naumov, D. N. Popov, S. V. Rudnev, A. N. Saburov, M. I. Shukayev, D. V. Yemlyutin, K. S. Zaslونov and many others, will go down in the history of the Great Patriotic War, in the history of the Soviet people.

same time built new factories, blast-furnaces and power stations and opened new coal-mines. The strengthened war economy did away with the superiority of the Germans in tanks, aircraft, mortars and sub-machine guns. During the last three years of the war the average annual output of Soviet industry was more than 30,000 tanks, self-propelled guns and armoured cars, about 40,000 aircraft, about 120,000 guns of all calibres, about 100,000 mortars, about 450,000 light and heavy machine-guns, over 3 million rifles and about 2 million sub-machine guns. The peasantry provided sufficient food for the army and the civilian population and raw material for industry.

Day by day the aid rendered by the entire people to the front grew more and more and its forms were many. At the end of 1942 the collective farmers of Tambov Region collected 40 million rubles to equip a tank column. Their initiative was taken up by the whole country. The Saratov collective farmer, F. P. Golovaty, gave up his savings—100,000 rubles—to build an aircraft. His example was followed by millions of Soviet people. During four years of war Soviet patriots contributed a total of 94,500 million rubles (in cash, valuables and loan bonds) for the building of air force squadrons, tank columns, artillery equipment, etc. The constantly growing aid for the front was a wonderful demonstration of Soviet patriotism.

1943 was also a year of the further consolidation of the anti-fascist coalition. From November 28 to December 1 there was a Three-Power Conference (the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A.) at Tehran where plans were correlated and the scale and time limits set for operations that were to be undertaken in the east, west and south for the purpose of crushing the troops of fascist Germany and her satellites. The governments of Great Britain and the U.S.A. promised to open the second front in Europe not later than May 1, 1944.

In 1944 the crushing drives of the Soviet Army followed continuously one after the other against the enemy's main army groups. In January and February Leningrad Region was liberated; in February and March the liberation of Western Ukraine was completed and the enemy thrown back beyond the Dniester and the Prut. The German southern group of armies was defeated, the Soviet Army reached the frontiers of Czechoslovakia and entered the territory of Rumania. In April and May the Crimea and Odessa were liberated. In June the enemy's Karelian group was crushed and a large part of Karelia liberated. In



Battle near Minsk, July 1944

June, July and August, Soviet troops, with the active help of the partisans, routed the German "Centre" armies, liberated Byelorussia and its capital, Minsk, a considerable part of Lithuania with its capital, Vilnius, the eastern regions of Poland, and reached the frontiers of East Prussia on the Vistula. Units of the 1st Polish Army participated with the Soviet Army in the liberation of the eastern regions of Poland. Simultaneously with the offensive in Byelorussia there was a big victory in Western Ukraine—Lvov was liberated and an important bridgehead on the Vistula near Sandomierz was captured.

During the second half of August the troops of the 2nd Ukrainian Front commanded by General R. Y. Malinovsky, co-operating with the 3rd Ukrainian Front, routed a big enemy formation in the vicinity of Jassy and Kishinev, liberated Moldavia and put Germany's vassals, Rumania and Bulgaria, out of the war. In August 1944 there was a popular uprising in Rumania followed by another in Bulgaria in September and revolutionary-democratic forces came to power. Rumania and Bulgaria entered the war against Germany. In October the Soviet Army entered Hungary and liberated the greater part of the country. In September and October the Estonian S.S.R. and most of the Lat-

vian S.S.R. were liberated, and Germany's ally, Finland, was put out of action. In October Soviet troops helped the Yugoslav People's Army of Liberation to clear the fascist occupants out of the greater part of Yugoslav territory. Soviet troops began the liberation of Czechoslovakia and drove the enemy out of the arctic regions and Northern Norway.

In 1944 fascist troops were driven beyond the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. In many operations Soviet troops carried out skilful manoeuvres encircling big enemy groups, for example, at Bobruisk, Vitebsk and Minsk (about 30 divisions), at Korsun-Shevchenkovsky (over 10 divisions) and at Jassy and Kishinev (about 22 divisions). Hundreds of thousands of enemy officers and men were taken prisoner.

In fulfilment of its great mission of liberation the Soviet Union rendered help to the peoples of Europe in their liberation from fascist oppression. The fascist bloc in Europe collapsed completely. Military operations were carried on to German territory. The victorious end of the war was in sight. On June 6, 1944, Anglo-American troops at last landed on the French coast and opened the second front against Germany.

As Soviet territories were liberated from the fascist occupants the rehabilitation of the ruined economy was developed although the war was still going on. At the same time, the economy of fascist Germany, under the impact of the defeats at the front, was collapsing. With the loss of huge, formerly occupied territories, Germany was deprived of important sources of raw materials, manpower and factories. The instability of the German hinterland hastened her defeat.

In January 1945 another gigantic offensive by Soviet troops began on a front of 1,200 km., from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathians. Simultaneously Soviet troops in Hungary fought against the enemy besieged in Budapest. In addition to Soviet troops, Polish, Czechoslovak, Rumanian and Bulgarian formations took part in operations. In the course of the winter fighting the liberation of Poland was completed and a considerable part of Czechoslovakia was freed. The enemy was thrown back from the Vistula to the Oder and the Neisse. The victorious offensive of the Soviet Army on the Eastern Front disrupted the German offensive in the Ardennes where American and British troops were in a difficult situation.

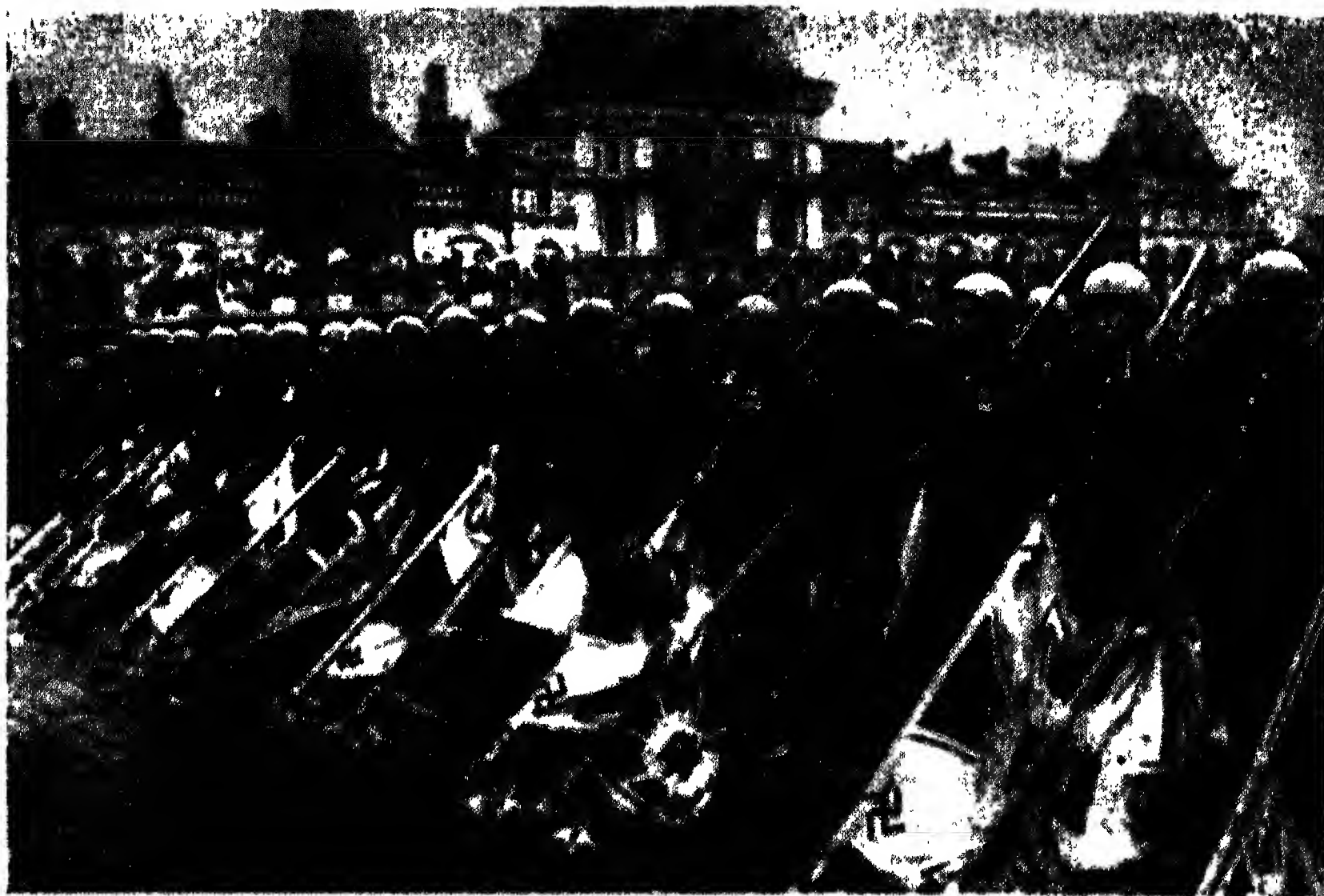
In February 1945 the Crimean Three-Power Conference was held and plans for the final defeat of fascist Germany were cor-



Berlin. After the capture of the Reichstag, 1945

related. The parties declared their determination to disarm and disband German armed forces and the German General Staff. "It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be a hope for a decent life for Germans and a place for them in the comity of nations." At that conference the U.S.S.R. agreed to enter the war against Germany's ally, Japan, within two or three months of Germany's capitulation and the end of the war in Europe.

The final operations of the Soviet Army began in the spring of 1945. In the middle of April the troops of three fronts—the 1st Byelorussian, commanded by Marshal G. K. Zhukov, the 1st Ukrainian, commanded by Marshal I. S. Konev, and the 2nd Byelorussian, commanded by Marshal K. K. Rokossovsky, unfolded decisive operations on the Berlin sector and routed a big enemy formation. The troops of the 1st Byelorussian and 1st Ukrainian fronts surrounded the German capital and on May 2 captured it. After the capture of Berlin the Prague operation was completed and on May 9 Soviet troops entered Prague. On May 8 representatives of the German Supreme Command in the presence of representatives of the Supreme Commands of the Allied Powers, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain,



The Victory Parade on Red Square, Moscow, June 24, 1945

the U.S.A. and France, signed an act of unconditional capitulation at Karlshorst, in the neighbourhood of Berlin. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people had ended in the complete defeat of Nazi Germany. On May 9, 1945, the Soviet people celebrated Victory Day.

At a conference in San Francisco, U.S.A., in June 1945 the United Nations Organization was established. The UNO Security Council was set up with a complement of eleven members of whom five—the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, the U.S.A., China and France—were to be permanent members. UNO was created to maintain and strengthen peace and security and for the development of peaceful co-operation between states.

From July 17 to August 2 the Potsdam Three-Power Conference was held (U.S.S.R., Britain and the U.S.A. participating). The Conference adopted concrete decisions (to which France adhered) on the demilitarization, denazification and democratic reconstruction of Germany. The Potsdam Declarations were intended to create a unified, peace-loving, democratic Germany. An important paragraph in the Declarations dealt with war reparations. The Conference decided on the transfer of the city of Königsberg and the area adjacent to it in East Prussia to the

Soviet Union and on the new Polish-German frontier on the Oder and the Neisse. Subsequently the U.S.A., Great Britain and France took the path of non-fulfilment of the Potsdam Declarations.

On August 9, 1945, the Soviet Union, in conformity with its duty as an ally, entered the war against imperialist Japan. The troops of the Transbaikal Front, commanded by Marshal R. Y. Malinovsky, co-operating with the forces of the 2nd and 1st Far-Eastern fronts, routed the million-strong Kwantung Army and effected the liberation of Manchuria (Tungpei), Korea, South Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. Participants in the rout of Japan were: the Soviet Army, the Soviet Pacific Fleet, the Amur Flotilla, the Armed Forces of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, troops of the Mongolian People's Republic and formations of the Chinese Army of Liberation. On September 2 the Japanese Government signed an act of unconditional capitulation. The Second World War ended in the complete defeat of the aggressors.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people gained a victory of historical significance and defended the liberty and independence of their socialist Fatherland in the Great Patriotic War. This victory was the absolute defeat of the second invasion of the land of socialism by imperialists. As a result of the victory the U.S.S.R. strengthened its frontiers in the west and in the east. The Königsberg Region with the city and port of Königsberg, renamed Kaliningrad in 1946, became part of the Soviet Union. By the Peace Treaty with Finland the U.S.S.R. received back Pechenga Region with the port of Pechenga (Petsamo) on the Barents Sea and was accorded the right to rent territory and territorial waters from Finland in the region of Porkkala Udd (in 1956 the U.S.S.R. renounced these rights). In the Far East the Soviet Union got back South Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. By crushing the fascist aggressors and their accomplices the Soviet Union not only defended its honour, liberty and independence, but played a decisive role in freeing the peoples of Europe and Asia from the threat of fascist slavery. World civilization was saved from the fascist gangsters. This is the historic service the Soviet people rendered to all mankind.

The correspondence between J. V. Stalin, Head of the Soviet Government, and the Heads of Government of the U.S.A. and Great Britain in the period of the war contains many state-

officers and men of the Soviet Army and Navy; over 7,000,000 officers and men of the army and navy were awarded Orders and Medals of the Soviet Union (the data as of July 1, 1946). The patriotism of Soviet people, the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., with the Russian people at their head, proved their invincible strength in the days of great trial during the Great Patriotic War.

As a result of the Second World War the ratio of forces in world affairs has changed to the advantage of socialism. Germany, Italy and Japan were defeated in the war. The capitalist system as a whole was weakened. The victory of the Soviet Union provided for many peoples of Europe favourable conditions for the overthrow of the yoke of the capitalists and landowners and enabled them to take the path of democracy and socialism. More links in the chain of imperialism had been broken with the formation of the world socialist system embracing over a third of the world's population—over 900,000,000 people. The main feature of the post-war period is the growing strength of the world socialist system which today, in addition to the U.S.S.R. and China, includes Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, Rumania and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

Since the end of the Second World War the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries has developed on a large scale. The peoples of India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt and other Asian and African countries have thrown off the yoke of colonialism. The collapse of the imperialist colonial system has begun.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. IN THE PERIOD OF THE COMPLETION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE GRADUAL TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM (1946-1955)

Rehabilitation and Development of National Economy During the Fourth (1946-1950) and Fifth (1951-1955) Five-Year Plans

After the victorious end of the Second World War the Soviet people returned to the peaceful communist construction that had been interrupted by the war in 1941. During the war the German fascist invaders did untold damage to the Soviet economy.

The occupants fully or partially wrecked and burned down 1,710 towns and over 70,000 villages, destroyed 31,850 industrial enterprises, 65,000 km. of railway line, wrecked and plundered 98,000 collective farms, 1,876 state farms and 2,890 MTS; the invaders slaughtered or shipped to Germany 7,000,000 horses, 17,000,000 head of cattle, many millions of pigs, sheep and goats and over 100,000,000 head of poultry. The actual damage immediately due to the war amounted to 679,000 million rubles and together with war expenditure and temporary loss of income from industry and agriculture in the regions that were temporarily occupied the total losses amounted to 2,569,000 million rubles. Any capitalist state, even the biggest, that had suffered losses and destruction such as the Soviet Union suffered during the war, would have been thrown far back in its development and would inevitably have become slavishly dependent on the big imperialist powers. This is what the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and some of the West-European countries counted on. Their hopes, however, were not fulfilled. As in the years of terrible trial, the social system of the Soviet Union demonstrated its immeasurable superiority over the capitalist system in the post-war period of peaceful construction, and found within itself the necessary strength and resources to solve, in a short period, the urgent problems provided by the rehabilitation and further development of economy.

The problem that the Soviet people had to solve after the war was: to rebuild the devastated areas in the shortest possible time, to transfer the economy on to peace-time rails, to reach the pre-war level of production and then considerably exceed it, to raise the material and cultural level of the people and to strengthen the defence potential of the Soviet state. The concrete targets were set by the Fourth (first post-war) Five-Year Plan adopted on March 18, 1946, at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Second Convocation. This plan, like those of pre-war days, gave priority to the development of heavy industry. The total output of industry as a whole was planned to exceed the pre-war level by 48 per cent by the end of the five years. Great prominence was given to agriculture and to industries producing consumer goods, to the rehabilitation and further development of transport, communications and other branches of economy.

This Session of the Supreme Soviet granted M. I. Kalinin's request to retire, on account of ill health, from his post of

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. but to remain a member of that body; N. M. Shvernik was elected to fill the vacancy thus created.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, began the implementation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. Nation-wide socialist emulation to reach planned targets was launched. The working class produced many talented, progressive people, the initiators of new methods of socialist production. P. Bykov and G. Bortkevich, turners by trade, launched a movement to introduce high-speed methods of metal-cutting; L. Korabelnikova and F. Kuznetsov initiated a movement to economize material in the manufacture of footwear and produce goods above the target figure from material so economized; A. Chutkikh, a foreman at the Krasnokholm Worsted Mill, started a movement to produce only high-quality goods; N. Rossiisky, a foreman at the Kalibr Factory in Moscow, initiated a movement to transfer whole departments to new and more modern methods of production; Engineer F. Kovalyov was the initiator of a movement to make a profound study of and apply all innovations on a large scale. And this gigantic movement, launched by the foremost people in the socialist production field, was taken up by millions of factory, office and professional workers and by the collective farmers.

The fulfilment of the planned targets in agriculture was a matter of extreme difficulty. The war had wrought tremendous devastation on the farms. The cropped area had been reduced, tilth was below standard, crop yields were low and the machinery available was less than pre-war. In 1946 the country was the victim of a serious drought that affected the most important farming districts. The area that suffered from the drought was greater than that of 1921 and was almost as great as that of 1891. The difficulties encountered in rebuilding the collective farms were, however, not confined to war damage and drought. In a number of districts there had been grave violation of the principles of the Model Rules for the Agricultural Co-operatives and this threatened to undermine the foundations of the collective-farm system. These contraventions included the misuse of the land and property of the collective farms, incorrect recording of work done and violations of the principles of democracy in the management of the farms. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government adopted measures to strengthen the collective-farm system and make progress in



Lenin and Stalin Mausoleum, Red Square, Moscow

agriculture. On September 19, 1946, a decision was taken on "Measures To Prevent Violation of the Rules for the Agricultural Cooperative by Collective Farms" intended to remedy the effects of distortions of the Party line on collective-farm management. In February 1947 a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. passed a detailed decision on the measures to be adopted to ensure progress in agriculture in the post-war period. In 1950 some of the smaller collective farms were amalgamated in order to improve their management and economy.

The restoration and further development of the national economy in the post-war years were accompanied by improved living standards and a higher cultural level; of special importance were the currency reform and the abolition of ration cards for food and consumer goods effected by order of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated December 14, 1947. After the currency reform the Communist Party and the Soviet Government reduced the prices of food and consumer goods on seven occasions. Retail prices were reduced by 26 per cent on an average and the purchasing power of the ruble greatly increased; the real wages of workers and the incomes of collective farmers were, consequently, increased.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan was completed by industry ahead of schedule—in four years and three months, the 1940 level of industrial output having been attained in two and a half years. The target for industrial output in 1950 was exceeded by 17 per cent, and in that year industrial output was 73 per cent above the 1940 level instead of 48 per cent as planned. Capital invested in the period amounted to 338,700 million rubles (in 1955 prices). Over 6,000 industrial enterprises (excluding small establishments) were rebuilt or newly built and got into production, and the number of factory, office and professional workers in 1950 was 38,900,000, that is, 7,700,000 more than in 1940. The mechanization of laborious and labour-consuming jobs was at a much higher level than pre-war, with labour productivity in 1950 higher than in 1940 by 37 per cent.

Despite the great difficulties agriculture recorded certain achievements. In the 1946-1950 period the farms were supplied with 536,000 tractors (in 15 h. p. units) and 93,000 combine harvesters, and considerable work was done to extend the electrification of the farms. Much was also done to strengthen the collective farms organizationally and economically. During the five years the area planted to grain crops was increased by more than 20 per cent and to industrial crops by 60 per cent. There was an over-all increase in the cattle herds by 2,600,000 head relative to 1940. In this most important branch of the national economy, however, there were still many urgent problems to solve.

Fascist Germany's invasion of the U.S.S.R. in 1941 had interrupted the normal development of science, art and culture in the country. In a very brief post-war period, however, the Soviet people were able to reach even higher levels in these fields.

Many new scientific institutions were established—the number increased from 1,821 in 1940 to 2,797 in 1955. In 1950 there were 162,500 scientific workers in the U.S.S.R. and by 1956 the number had increased to about 240,000, of whom 9,800 held the degree of Doctor and 85,700 the degree of Candidate of Science.

Important scientific centres grew up in Soviet times in regions inhabited by non-Russian peoples, regions that in pre-revolutionary Russia had been backward. Thirteen of the Union Republics established their own Academies of Sciences and in the Moldavian S.S.R. and in a number of the regions and autonomous republics of the R.S.F.S.R. the Academy of Sciences of the

U.S.S.R. had its branches. Local contingents of scientific workers of non-Russian nationality were built up. In the U.S.S.R. Academy alone there were more scientific workers in 1956 by about 50 per cent than there had been in the whole country in 1913.

The high level of scientific development in the U.S.S.R. enabled Soviet scientists to take priority in applying the energy of the atomic nucleus for peaceful purposes, in penetrating outer space and in solving many basic problems in science and engineering.

Soviet literature, fine arts, architecture, cinema, theatre and music have many fine achievements to record. The work of So-



Moscow State University

viet masters in all these fields has been highly appraised by the masses of the people.

After the war there was a considerable increase in the enrolment in general, technical and other types of secondary schools—during the five years under discussion the number increased by 8,234,000 and reached a total of 36 million in 1950. Enrolment in schools of higher learning in 1950 was 1,247,400 (in 1940 the figure was 811,700).

Immediately after the war housing construction began to develop on the most extensive scale. By 1950, houses rehabilitated and newly built in the towns after the war had a total floor space of over 100,000,000 sq. metres. Rural building in the same period amounted to 2,700,000 houses restored or newly built.

The national income in 1950 was 64 per cent higher than that of 1940 (in comparable prices) although only 38 per cent had been planned, and the total earnings of the gainfully employed urban and rural population were 62 per cent greater than in 1940 (in comparable prices). State expenditure on welfare and culture amounted to 524,500 million rubles for the five years.

The political, economic and cultural development of the country was summed up at the Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in October 1952. The Congress decided to change the name of the Party by dropping the word "Bolsheviks"; the double name of both "Communist" and "Bolshevik" that had been used until then had been adopted to disassociate the Party from the Mensheviks; the Menshevik party having long since disappeared in the U.S.S.R., the double name of the Communist Party had lost its meaning. The name "Communist Party" most fully expresses the Marxist content of the Party programme and so the former name of "All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks" was changed to "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (C.P.S.U.). The Rules of the C.P.S.U. approved by the Congress say that the Party is a voluntary militant union of like-minded people, Communists, consisting of members of the working class, working peasants and working intellectuals. The new Rules show that the chief aim of the Communists and of the entire Soviet people is the building of a communist society through gradual transition from socialism to communism, with constantly improving material and cultural standards; it is the duty of the Party to inculcate in all members of Soviet society a spirit of internationalism and fraternal relations with the

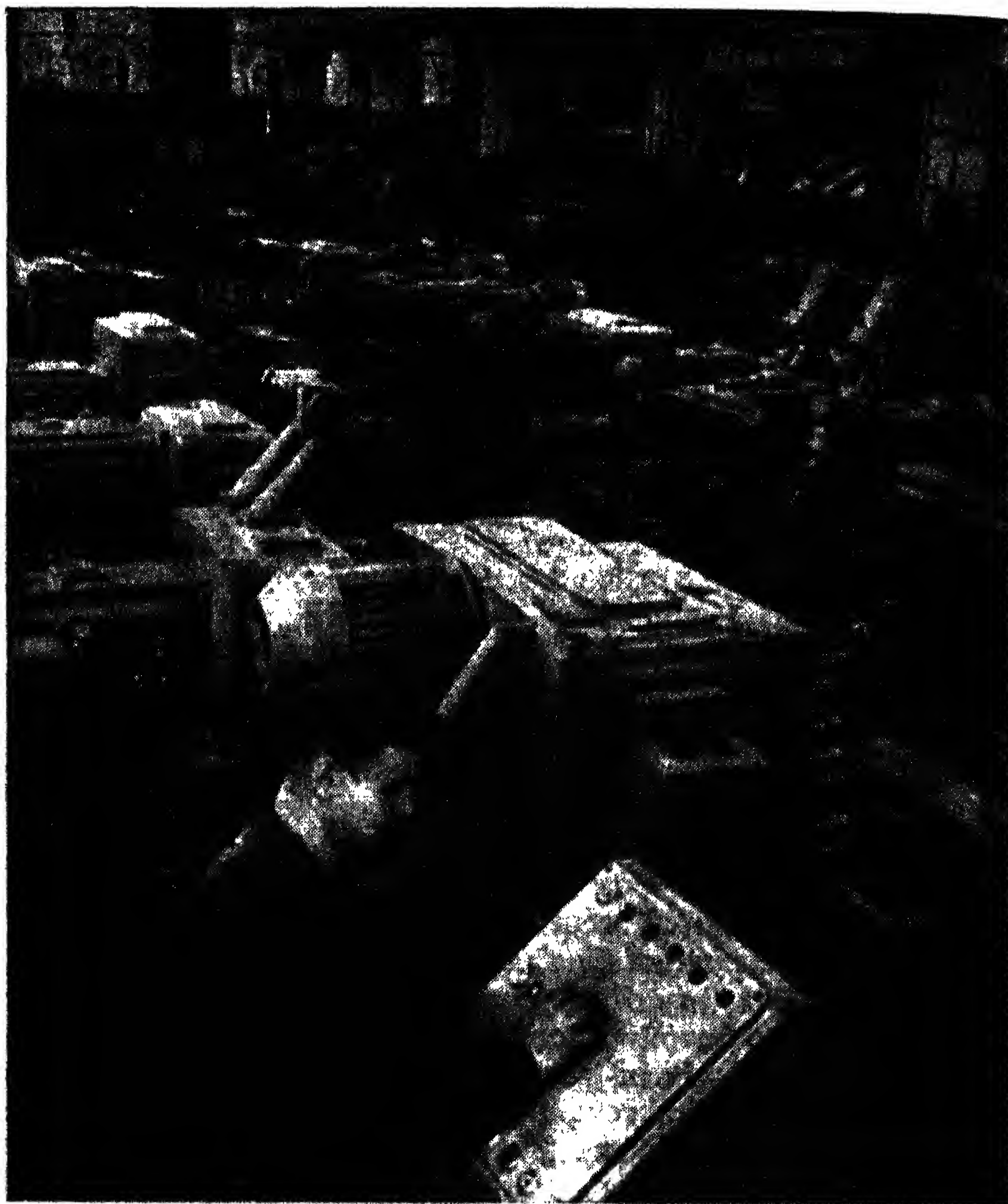
working people of all countries and to strengthen the defence potential of the U.S.S.R. to the utmost.

These aims were given concrete form in the Directives, adopted by the Nineteenth Party Congress, for a Five-Year Plan of economic development, 1951-1955. They envisaged an over-all increase of about 70 per cent in industrial output, by 1955 bringing industrial output up to three times that of 1940. Priority in the plan was again given to the development of heavy industry and the further electrification of the country. The plan allowed for the over-all operating capacities of power stations to be almost doubled and those of hydroelectric plants to be trebled, and the total output of power to be increased by 80 per cent. It was planned to build new plants and extend existing installations on 711 sites. Great economic effect was obtained by the construction of the Kuibyshev (2,100,000 kw.) and the Stalingrad stations (2,310,000 kw.), both on the Volga, and by work on the Kakhovka, Novosibirsk and Irkutsk hydroelectric power stations.

The main tasks in agriculture were: to raise the yield of all crops, increase the collective and state farm herds and improve their productivity. The new five-year plan envisaged a very considerable rise in the material and cultural level of the Soviet people.

On March 5, 1953, shortly after the Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., the death occurred, following a serious illness, of J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For many years Stalin had been an outstanding figure in Party and state leadership. He was a prominent proletarian revolutionary and a theoretician in the field of Marxism-Leninism. His death raised hopes among the enemies of the Soviet state in other countries that there would be indecision and confusion in the Party, the Government and among the people. The hopes and intrigues of the enemies of the Soviet people were, however, in vain. The Soviet people mustered still more solidly around the Central Committee, the collective leadership of the Communist Party that provided wise guidance in the struggle to build communist society.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. took the necessary steps to ensure the smooth, uninterrupted leadership of all the activities of the Party and the Government.



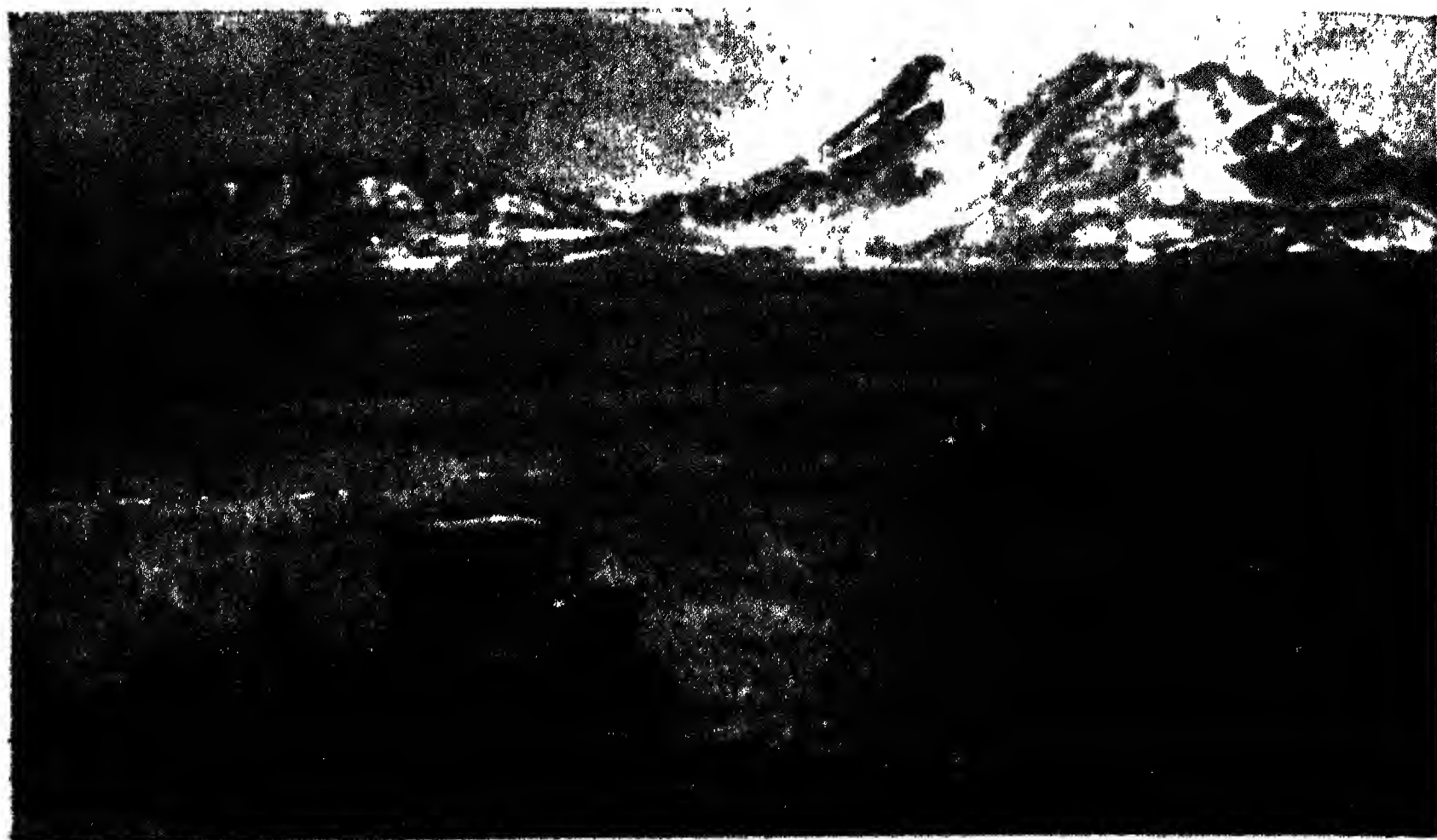
Automatic production line of 12 machine-tools machining tractor engine blocks

N. S. Khrushchov was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1953. In 1958 he was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. On March 15, 1953, a Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. elected K. Y. Voroshilov President of the Presidium; N. M. Shvernik, who had formerly held that post, was elected Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Under the leadership of the Party and its Leninist Central Committee the Soviet people were successful in implementing the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The capital invested amounted to 654,400 million rubles in 1955 prices. On May 31, 1952, the Lenin Volga-Don Ship Canal was opened; this waterway, 101 km. in length, completed the linking of five seas—the White, Baltic, Caspian, Black and Azov seas. This provided a single inland water transport system that connects the centre of the country, Moscow (through the Moskva-Volga Canal), with the most important economic regions. On June 27, 1954, the world's first atomic power station with a capacity of 5,000 kw. was opened and provided current for industry and agriculture. This was a real step forward in the utilization of atomic power for peaceful purposes.

The July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (1955) discussed and passed decisions on the further development of industry, on questions of technical progress and better production organization. All the achievements of science were placed at the service of communist construction. The outstanding achievements of Soviet scientists in mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry and electronics provided the necessary basis for the solution of fundamental problems in metallurgy, engineering, energetics, radio-engineering, automation and telemechanics. The most modern machines and technological processes ensuring greater productivity were introduced into all branches of economy on the initiative and by the creative efforts of the Soviet people.

In the course of the implementation of the Five-Year Plan the Communist Party and the Soviet Government turned their attention specifically to agriculture, a branch of economy that was lagging behind, and to the elaboration and implementation of a number of concrete measures to ensure substantial progress in this field. The decisions of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee held in September 1953 on measures for the further development of agriculture in the U.S.S.R., taken after a report by N. S. Khrushchov, those of the Plenary Meeting in February and March 1954 on further increase in grain production and the cultivation of virgin and disused lands and a number of other decisions adopted by the Party and the Government constituted a broad programme for the development of all branches of agriculture, priority being given to grain production as the basis of all other branches of farming. The Soviet people



Ploughing in Eastern Kazakhstan

were confronted with the task of raising grain production by bringing under the plough between 28 and 30 million hectares of virgin and disused land in the Volga-side, Urals, Siberian and Kazakhstan regions and partially in the North Caucasus and other regions, in the period from 1954 to 1956. In 1954 and 1955, new state farms to a total of 425 were organized on these territories and equipped with modern machinery. Over 350,000 people, many of them farming specialists, answered the call of the C.P.S.U. and went as volunteers to the new lands. Parallel to the work to increase grain production effective measures to improve livestock-breeding were also taken.

The measures adopted by the Party and the Government included those that would give the collective farms and the farmers greater incentive to increase production, provide better management of the farms, would mobilize a strong contingent of agronomists, animal-breeders, engineers and technicians for work on the farms and would provide for the recasting of local Party organizations and local government bodies to implement the new programme. State investments in agriculture were increased, the state paid higher prices for farm produce procured by obligatory deliveries and purchased in excess of deliveries, and reduced the quotas for obligatory grain deliveries; the rates paid by the collective farms to the MTS (in kind) were fixed

by the government and the taxes paid by the collective farmers were reduced. Excessive centralization of planning, which had stifled the initiative and limited the independent action of the collective farms and the farmers, was abolished. The collective farmers and local agricultural bodies began to participate in planning farm work and were thus able to make better use of the geographical, soil and other conditions obtaining in each individual district and on each farm.

The Soviet people, engaged in peaceful creative labour, were vitally interested in the maintenance of durable peace and security. The traditionally peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union emerges from the very nature of socialist society in which there are no classes or social groups that are interested in wars or in the exploitation, enslavement and plunder of other nations. In pursuing a policy of peace, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government proceed from the Leninist thesis on the possible coexistence and peaceful competition of the two systems, socialist and capitalist.

The general line in Soviet foreign policy always has been and still is the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. In the first post-war period (1945-1948) the Soviet Union concluded economic agreements and pacts of mutual assistance, friendship and collaboration with the People's Democracies. An act of great international significance was the conclusion on February 14, 1950, of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic. International relations of a new type have grown up between the countries of the socialist world, relations that had never before been known. They are based on the unity of socialist interests, on Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the consistent application of the principles of full equality and respect for national sovereignty and the most extensive mutual assistance. The peoples of the socialist world are bound together by the great principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet policy of strengthening peace and security between nations proceeds from the premise that there are no disputed questions in world affairs today that cannot be settled by negotiation; the Soviet Government struggles consistently to lessen tension in world relations. The Soviet policy of disarmament has been steadily pursued in the post-war years: in 1955 the Armed Forces were reduced by 640,000 men and in June 1956

by a further 1,200,000. In May 1955 Soviet troops were withdrawn from Port Arthur, a base that had been jointly used by the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, and the base was handed over to the latter; the naval base at Porkkala Udd, rented from Finland, was returned to that country in January 1956, before the lease had expired.

Over four-fifths of the Soviet budget is devoted to the development of economy and culture, that is, to peaceful purposes. On March 12, 1951, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted a Law on the Defence of Peace, which declares war propaganda to be a crime against humanity.

The Soviet Government is conducting an active struggle to convert the United Nations Organization into an effective body guaranteeing peace and the security of the nations. Representatives of the Soviet state have frequently tabled constructive proposals at UNO on disarmament, the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the banning of weapons of mass destruction, on the cessation of nuclear tests, the abolition of bases on foreign territories, the cancelling of military alliances and the creation of a reliable system of collective security in Europe.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is supported by all peace-loving peoples. After the Second World War a strong democratic world movement for peace developed with the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, in the vanguard. At the same time ruling circles in the U.S.A., Britain and France have been pursuing a "cold war" policy, a policy of maintaining a "position of strength" and have set up the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The participation of German militarists as the chief force in this bloc is based on a continuation of this policy. The South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), the Baghdad Pact and other military blocs have also been set up. All these military blocs are directed against the U.S.S.R., People's China and the other People's Democracies. After Britain and France became participants in the Paris Agreements (1954) which led to the re-establishment of German militarism the Soviet Union, in May 1955, annulled the Anglo-Soviet (1942) and Soviet-French (1944) treaties as they had lost their significance.

The policy of the aggressive forces—the arms race, military blocs and bases and the instigation of "cold war"—is meeting with the growing resistance of peace-loving forces throughout the world.

In May 1955, there was a conference in Warsaw on peace and security in Europe at which eight countries were represented: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the U.S.S.R., with an observer from the Chinese People's Republic. The participants in this conference concluded a treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance. The Warsaw Treaty was an important step towards the organization of all-European security. In the persistent struggle for peace the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the other People's Democracies, the world camp of peace and democracy, have achieved important successes in lessening world tension. The conclusion of the armistice in Korea, the cessation of war in Indo-China and the extension of economic and cultural relations are important victories for the forces of peace and democracy.

In 1955 the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Four States, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Britain and France, helped lessen world tension. In April of the same year there was an international conference at Bandung in which 29 Asian and African countries participated. The work of the conference was based on the famous "Five Principles" (*Panch Shila*) pronounced by India and China: 1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2) Non-aggression; 3) Non-intervention in each other's internal affairs for any motives of an economic, political or ideological nature; 4) Equality and mutual benefit, and 5) Peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union and many other countries subscribed to these principles. An extensive "peace zone" was established, including socialist and non-socialist peace-loving countries in Europe, Asia and Africa.

In May and June 1955 relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were normalized; on May 15, a State Treaty was concluded with Austria, and in September diplomatic relations were established between the U.S.S.R. and the German Federal Republic; in September, also, the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance with Finland (April 6, 1948) was prolonged for twenty years.

The exchange of parliamentary delegations and personal contacts between statesmen of different nations began to be widely practised. In 1955 Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, visited the Soviet Union. This was followed by a visit to India by a Soviet Government delegation that also visited Burma and Afghanistan. On December 13, 1955, a Joint Soviet-

Indian Communiqué was published; on December 6, a Soviet-Burman Joint Communiqué, and on December 18, a Joint Soviet-Afghan Communiqué. These communiqués are important in developing and strengthening friendship between the Soviet people and the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan. There are many other facts that bear witness to the peaceful nature of Soviet policy. The Soviet Union persistently proposes substituting a policy of economic competition between the two different social and economic systems on the basis of coexistence, a policy of the all-round extension of commercial and cultural relations, for the senseless arms race and the inflaming of war psychosis, the policy of "balancing on the brink of war" pursued by imperialist circles headed by U.S. monopolists.

The Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and Its Historic Decisions (February 1956)

The Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. was an important event in the history of the struggle of the Communist Party and the Soviet people to strengthen the might of their country, for the building of communism, for peace throughout the world. The Congress heard and discussed the report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that was made by the First Secretary of the Central Committee, N. S. Khrushchov. The entire work of the Congress was an example of the constructive development of Marxist-Leninist theory. In the report the Marxist-Leninist theories of the peaceful coexistence of two world social and economic systems, the possibility of preventing war in the present epoch and the forms which the transition to socialism takes in different countries were developed and were of tremendous theoretical and practical importance in the struggle for peace and for social progress.

An important part of the work of the Communist Party Congress was taken up by the question of the personality cult of Stalin and its consequences.

The Congress frankly and boldly disclosed mistakes and shortcomings in work that had been engendered by the Stalin personality cult, especially during the last years of his life and work. The personality cult, alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and to the nature of the socialist system, hampered the development of Soviet democracy and hindered the advance of the Soviet Union to communism.

An analysis of the causes that made possible the existence of the Stalin personality cult was contained in the decision of the Central Committee on "Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences," published on June 30, 1956.

The consequences of the Stalin personality cult in Party and state work were overcome and there was a further strengthening of internal Party and Soviet democracy and of socialist legality; the Leninist principles of collective leadership were re-established. This meant a great change in the social and political life of Soviet society.

While criticizing the Stalin personality cult the Party cannot agree with those who try to use this criticism of the personality cult for attacks on the socialist system and the Communist Party.

Although the Party has criticized the incorrectness of certain features in Stalin's activities, it nevertheless struggles persistently against those who, under cover of criticizing the personality cult, distort the whole historical activities of the C.P.S.U. at the time when Stalin stood at the head of the Central Committee. Stalin must take the place due to him in history as a loyal Marxist-Leninist and a steadfast revolutionary.

The Twentieth Congress instructed the Central Committee to prepare a new programme proceeding from the main postulates of Marxist-Leninist theory constructively developed on the basis of the historical experience of the C.P.S.U., the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries and the experience and achievements of the whole world communist and workers' movement and with the consideration paid to the long-term plan for the building of communist society and the development of the economy and culture of the Soviet Union.

The Twentieth Congress summed up the results of communist construction in the U.S.S.R. and elaborated a magnificent programme to further strengthen and develop the Soviet social and state system, a programme for the building of communist society in the U.S.S.R. at the new stage of historic development. The Congress proposed the elaboration of a long-term plan to cover the next fifteen years as an economic programme for the building of communism in the U.S.S.R. The Party Congress adopted Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan for 1956-1960.

The programme of economic and cultural development elaborated by the Twentieth Congress made for substantial progress in all branches of Soviet economy.

The year 1956 was a record one in the history of Soviet agriculture. Over 3,300 million poods (over 53 million tons) of grain poured into the state granaries. This was over 1,000 million poods more than was delivered to the state in years of the biggest harvests, the R.S.F.S.R. delivering more than 2,000 million poods and Kazakhstan 1,000 million poods. The cultivation of some 36 million hectares of new lands had played a decisive role.

Achievements in the development of livestock-breeding enabled the Soviet people to set themselves a bold target: to catch up with the U.S.A. in the output of meat, milk and butter per capita of the population within the next few years.

In fulfilment of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Party adopted a number of measures to improve the living standards and working conditions of the Soviet people. Those adopted between March and September 1956 were: on March 8, 1956, a government decree reducing the working day by two hours on Saturdays and on days preceding all holidays; on March 26 a decree extending the leave of absence from work for expectant mothers from 77 to 112 days; on May 26 a decree establishing a 6-hour working day for juveniles between the ages of 16 and 18; on June 6, a decree of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. cancelling tuition fees for the senior classes of secondary schools, special secondary schools and higher schools; on July 14, 1956, the 5th Session of the Supreme Soviet, Fourth Convocation, adopted the Law on State Pensions which increased the allocations for pensions by more than 50 per cent, and on September 8, the Council of Ministers, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions passed a decision to raise the wages of low-paid factory and office workers. At the same time the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. issued a decree raising the minimum taxable income of factory and office workers. On July 31, 1956, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decision on "The Development of Housing Construction in the U.S.S.R." that set 10-12 years as the period in which the deficit in housing was to be made up.

The directive given by the Twentieth Congress to shorten the working day without any reduction of present wages was reflected, in particular, in a decision of the Central Committee, the

Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the All-Union Council of Trade Unions (April 1958) reducing the working day to seven and six hours for workers and clerks in a number of branches and enterprises of the coal, shale and chemical industries, in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and in a number of cement and other industrial enterprises.

In 1956 a change was made in the pattern of the U.S.S.R. On July 16 the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet, in response to a request from the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R., adopted a law on the reformation of that Republic as the Karelian A.S.S.R. and its inclusion in the R.S.F.S.R. as a constituent republic. Since 1956 the U.S.S.R. has consisted of 15 Union Republics.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government, guided by the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in which special stress is laid on the equality and friendship of the peoples as the sound foundation of the might and invincible strength of the Soviet state system, undertook a number of measures to restore the rights of a number of peoples who had been transferred to other regions during the war and to correct certain injustices that had been done them.

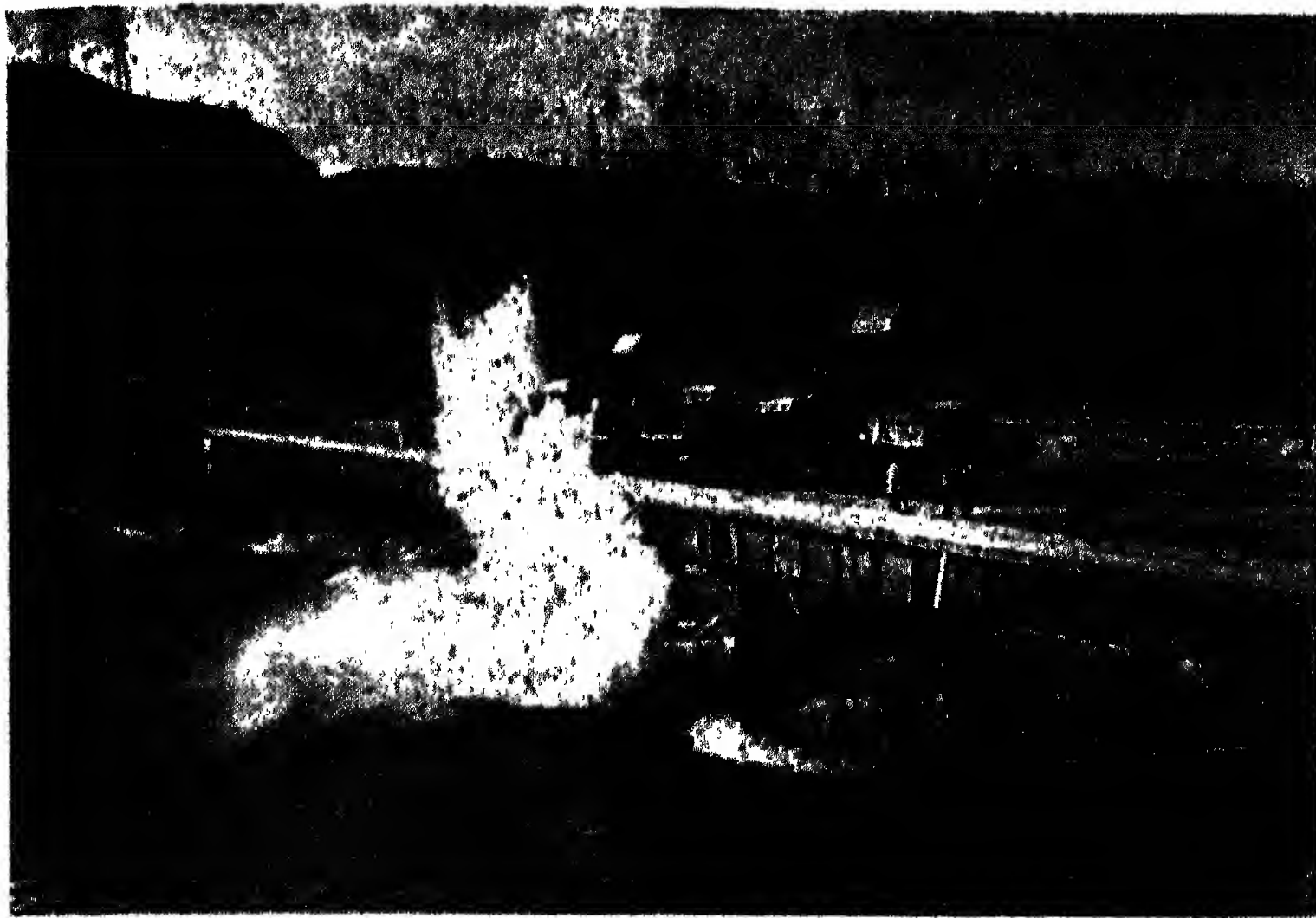
The Checheno-Ingush A.S.S.R. was re-established as a constituent Republic of the R.S.F.S.R. in February 1957, the Kalmyk Autonomous Region was formed and reconstituted as an Autonomous Republic in 1958, the Kabarda A.S.S.R. was reformed as the Kabardino-Balkarian A.S.S.R. and the Cherkess Autonomous Region was reconstituted as the Karachai-Cherkess Autonomous Region.

For the better utilization of the possibilities and hidden potentialities of socialist production and its further development the Communist Party, in 1956 and 1957, carried out a number of measures to improve economic administration and state planning and to improve the organization of the management of industry and building. A Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in December 1956 and another in February 1957 discussed these measures and their decisions were passed on to the Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Fourth Convocation, that adopted, in May 1957, the law on "The Further Improvement of Organization of Management in Industry and Building." The examination of this question by the Supreme Soviet was preceded by a nationwide discussion of the theses for a report to be presented by

N. S. Khrushchov in which over 40,000,000 people participated. The Soviet people, in an active and businesslike manner, discussed the many complicated problems put forward by the theses and made a number of new and valuable proposals that were included in the laws passed by the Soviet parliament. "The basic organizational form of industrial management," says the law, "should be the economic councils to be set up in economic administrative districts." These districts are the basic territorial economic units and form constituent parts of the national economy of the whole country; the country is divided into more than a hundred such units, each with its Economic Council. A State Planning Committee has been set up directly under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. At the same time 25 union and union-republican ministries were abolished.

Successes achieved in communist construction brought to the fore new problems in the long-term planning of economy. In view of certain specific requirements for the development of Soviet society, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. in September 1957 adopted a decision on "The Elaboration of a Long-Term Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R." The decision says: "The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. deem it essential, in elaborating the draft for a long-term plan, to proceed from the basic task—to ensure further, very substantial progress in all branches of the national economy on the basis of the priority development of capital goods production as a big step forward towards the solution of the chief economic problem of the U.S.S.R., i.e., in an historically short space of time to catch up with and surpass the most highly developed capitalist countries in output per capita of the population. With the growth of the country's social wealth a further rise in the material and cultural standards of the people must be ensured."

The Communist Party and the Soviet people, developing Marxist-Leninist theory constructively, struggled with determination against the conservatives who clung to old outworn forms and methods of work and resisted the implementation of the Leninist general Party line. The June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (1957) exposed and defeated the anti-Party group—Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, Bulganin and their ally Shepilov—who were against the Lenin-



Panorama of the Bratsk Hydroelectric Power Station



The Volga Hydroelectric Power Station named after Lenin

ist general Party line as expressed in the policy adopted by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., opposed the leading role of the Party and descended to factional, splitting tactics.

The anti-Party group opposed such timely and vitally essential measures as the cultivation of virgin and disused lands, the recasting of economic planning, especially in agriculture, the recasting of the managerial system of industry and building, the Party measures aimed at improving living standards, and they even opposed the foreign policy of the Party directed towards the slackening of world tension, the consolidation of peace and the development of co-operation and friendship between the peoples.

By casting aside the anti-Party group, the Communist Party strengthened the Leninist unity of its ranks and mustered them in still more solid array under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

In 1957 the Soviet people and progressive people in all countries commemorated a noteworthy date in world history—the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. On November 6, 1957, there was a Jubilee Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The Session heard N. S. Khrushchov's report on "Forty Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution" which summed up the historic achievements of the Soviet people in the struggle to build a communist society. "A Message from the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Peoples of the Soviet Union," in which the deputies appealed to the people to make the fifth decade of the Soviet state a decade of still greater prosperity, was adopted unanimously. In "A Message from the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to all Working People, Statesmen and Prominent Public Men and Women, Representatives of Science and Culture, the Parliaments and Governments of All Countries," the Session called for a persistent struggle for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and for international collaboration, for a universal reduction in armaments and armed forces, the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the immediate cessation of nuclear tests, for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe and Asia and the assurance of greater confidence between nations.

During the Soviet years the consumption of electricity per worker in industry has greatly increased. All towns, almost all urban-type workers' communities and over a third of the collec-

tive farms have been electrified. All this goes to show that the rate of growth in industry, especially in heavy industry, the basis of all economy, is greater than any before known to history. It will be remembered that in order to achieve something like a 30-fold increase in industrial output, the U.S.A., Germany and Great Britain required from 80 to 150 years; the Soviet Union achieved this in forty years. It must not be forgotten that almost half this period, some twenty years, was taken up with wars imposed on the U.S.S.R. and subsequent post-war rehabilitation of economy.

The Soviet Union proved able to surmount all the difficulties that stood in its way and has now left such highly developed European capitalist countries as Great Britain, France and Western Germany behind in over-all industrial output.

In his report made to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. at its Jubilee Session, N.S. Khrushchov outlined the chief tasks and the general pattern of the development of socialist society in the coming period.

The long-term programme of development for the next 15 years envisages output in the main branches of Soviet industry at more than double or treble the present level. Some examples of this are—iron ore extraction to increase by 250 per cent, the extraction of oil to be quadrupled, the extraction and production of gas to increase 13 to 15 times over the 1957 figure, iron and steel 130 per cent, electric power 330 per cent and cement 300 per cent more than in 1957, etc. In the sphere of agriculture the programme provides for considerable advance in all branches, sufficient to ensure an abundance of produce and meet all the requirements of Soviet people.

The implementation of this magnificent programme will bring the Soviet Union to first place in the world within the next 15 years, not only for over-all output but also in output per capita of the population, and the material and technical foundations of communism will be built; this will, at the same time, ensure victory for the Soviet Union in the peaceful economic competition with the most highly developed capitalist countries.

There were many guests at the historical Jubilee Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., among them the leaders and representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties. An event indicative of the great successes of the world communist movement was the Conference of these representatives of the

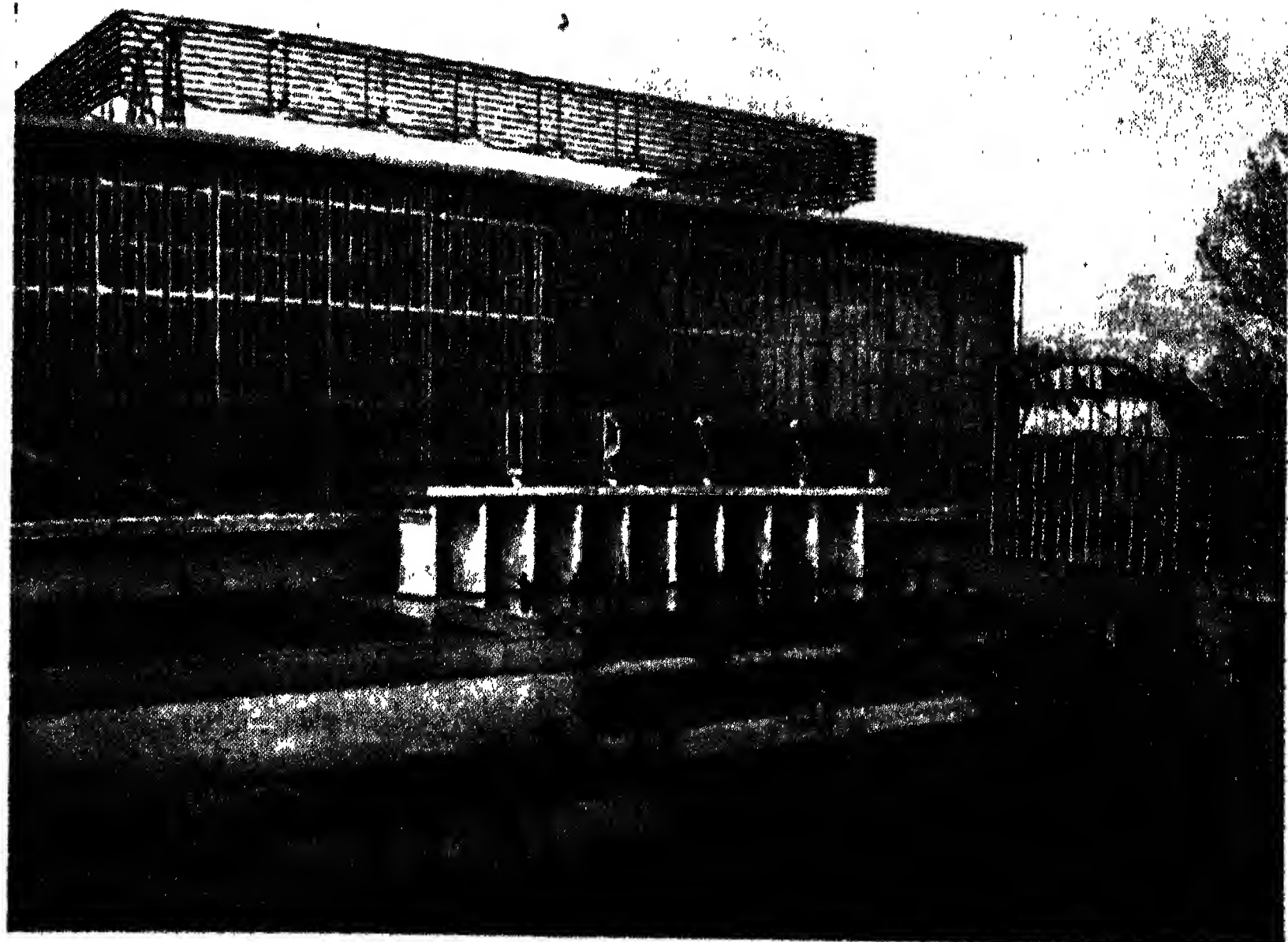
world movement, held at the time of the anniversary celebration in 1957 in Moscow.

At a Conference of Twelve Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries a Declaration was approved and at a Conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of 64 countries a Peace Manifesto was adopted; these documents reflect the unity of the world communist movement based on the sound principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Moscow Declaration has met with the undivided approval of all parties whose position is that of Marxism-Leninism and has become the common platform of the world communist movement, serving to strengthen the ideological and political unity of the Communist Parties of all countries. The Declaration gives a generalized estimate of the tremendous experience of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in building the new way of life, formulates the chief laws of development in our times, provides a programme for the further consolidation of the world socialist system and the development of close collaboration between the fraternal peoples and shows definite prospects for the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Outstanding triumphs for the Soviet people, magnificent achievements in science and engineering have been: the suc-



Atomic ice-breaker *Lenin*



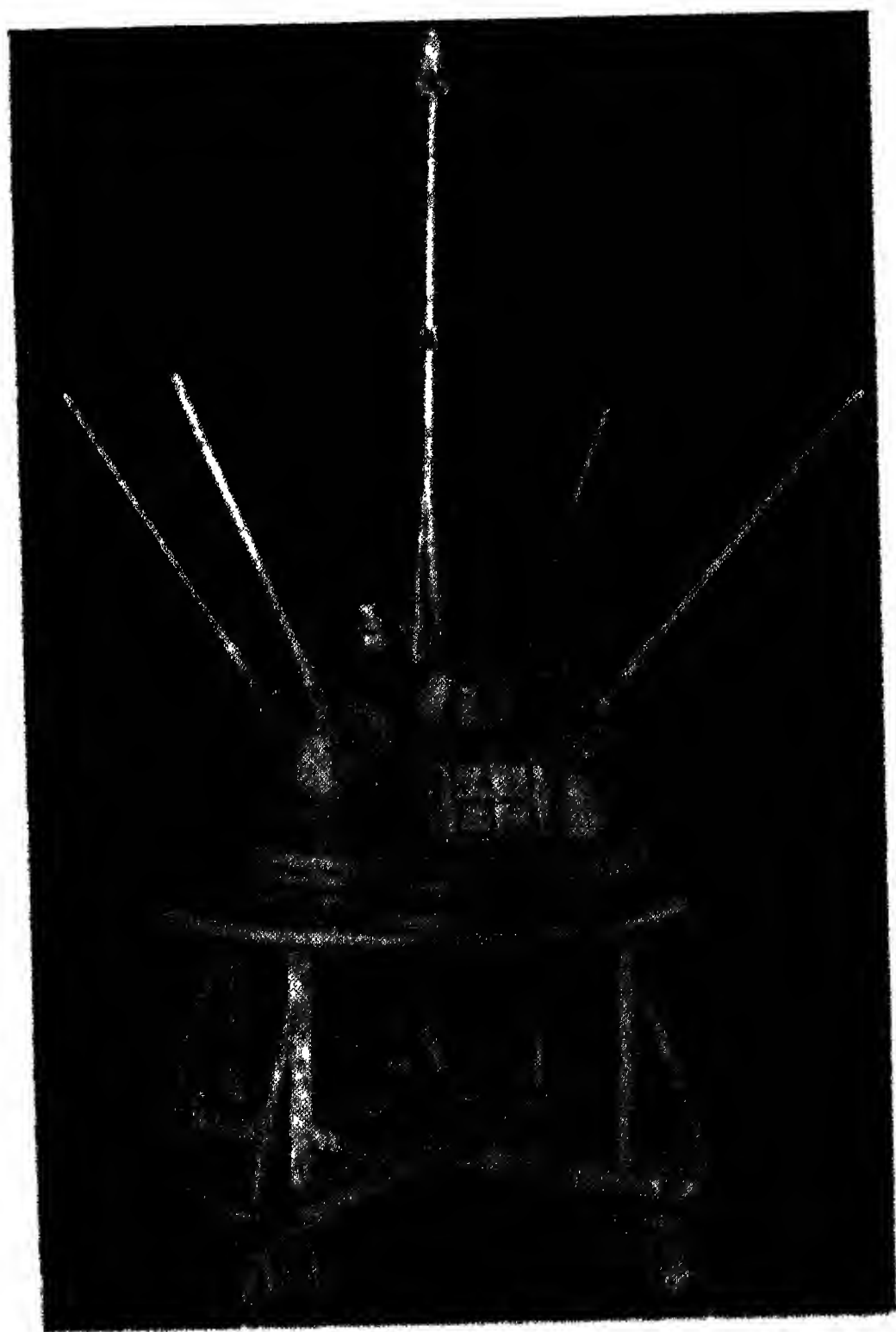
Soviet Pavilion at the Brussels Fair

cessful tests of super-long-range intercontinental ballistic missiles in 1957, the building of the high-speed jet air liner TU-104 (April 1957), the launching of the world's first atomic ice-breaker *Lenin* (October 1957), the launching of the first artificial earth satellite (Sputnik I) on October 4, 1957, followed by Sputniks II and III, and, lastly, the launching of the first rocket into the region of the Moon which became the first artificial satellite of the solar system, thus laying the foundations of man's practical invasion of outer space.

The peoples of all countries see in the Soviet Sputniks and the lunar rocket the heralds of peace and great progress.

These great victories of the Soviet Union in the peaceful competition with capitalism have been admitted even by the capitalist press. The American *New York Herald Tribune*, for example, wrote that the U.S.A. had suffered a defeat in the epic competition of the 20th century. These successes achieved by the Soviet Union are convincing proof of the great superiority of socialism over capitalism, the natural result of the development of socialist society.

Another important achievement, one that has played a decisive



Container housing research apparatus
carried by the Soviet space
rocket—the artificial solar satellite

role in the successes of the new socialist system, is the growth in labour productivity—it is at present about nine and a half times that of pre-revolutionary Russia.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have continued their efforts to consolidate the collective farms, develop the state farms and increase the amount of machinery used in the countryside. At the beginning of 1958 there were more than 78,000 collective farms. Some 5,900 state farms, big socialist agricultural enterprises, have been organized and now cultivate 25 per cent of the country's arable.

The Soviet farms are well equipped with machines—1,632,000 tractors (in 15 h.p. units), 420,000 harvester combines, about 660,000 motor lorries and millions of other farm machines. In 1957 the area planted to crops was 193,200,000 hectares or 75,000,000 hectares more than in 1913. Of this area 36,000,000 hectares have been added during the past four years. The rural population is today slightly more than half of that of pre-revolutionary Russia but the amount of marketable produce is several times greater. The quantity of marketable grain is almost three times that of 1913, the year that had the biggest harvest before the Revolution, and the amount of marketable wheat is five times greater; the output of raw cotton, sunflower seeds and vegetables has increased sixfold, sugar-beet and potatoes almost threefold.

Considerable successes have been recorded, especially in recent years, in livestock-breeding. By the end of 1956 the cattle herds exceeded the pre-revolutionary figure by 12,000,000; the quantity of meat marketed had been doubled and that of milk and wool trebled.

The decisions of the Party and the Government adopted in 1958 have as their objective further all-round progress in agriculture: they include—decisions on the further development of the collective-farm system and the reorganization of machine and tractor stations, the abolition of obligatory deliveries and payment in kind for work done by the MTS, and new arrangements, prices and conditions for state purchases of farm produce. These new measures brought about a great change in the economic relations between the state and the collective farms. For many years these relations had the following character: farm machines, in the main, belonged to the MTS and were not sold to the farms, a number of methods of procuring farm produce by the state were practised, primarily obligatory deliveries made by the collective farms and the farmers as a form of taxation and as payment for MTS services. Beginning with 1958 the state has undertaken to sell machinery of all types to the collective farms and has introduced a single system of purchasing produce from the farms. These bold, determined measures aim at the rapid increase of agricultural output, a rise in the living standards of the people and a further strengthening of the alliance of the working class and the collective farmers, providing a solid foundation for the building of communist society in the U.S.S.R.

A Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. held in December 1958 adopted a number of laws and decisions of great state importance and wholly in the interests of the Soviet people. On December 24, the Session adopted the law on strengthening the bonds between the school and life and the further development of the educational system. Other laws passed included a confirmation of the Basic Criminal Procedure in the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republics and the Fundamentals of Procedural Legislation in the U.S.S.R., the Union and Autonomous Republics.

The October Revolution opened up great possibilities for a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the people. As early as the First Five-Year Plan period unemployment was completely abolished in the U.S.S.R. in 1957 there were 53,100,000

factory, office and professional workers engaged in the national economy of the U.S.S.R., more than four times the number engaged in these fields in 1913. The most general index of the rise in the well-being of the people is the growth of the national income per capita of the population: in the forty Soviet years the figure increased 13 times over. In the same period the *per capita national income* of the U.S.A. was less than doubled and that of Britain and France increased by little more than 60 per cent. In 1957 alone the Soviet state allocated over 192,000 million rubles for social insurance, about one-third of the U.S.S.R. budget revenue.

One of the greatest achievements of the Soviet people was the cultural revolution that abolished illiteracy and brought the Soviet Union up to one of the first places in the world in science and engineering. In 1957 all types of schools taken together had an enrolment of over 50 million, i.e., every fourth person in the U.S.S.R. was studying. That year in schools of higher learning and in technical secondary schools there was an enrolment of over 4 million; this was 21 times greater than the 1914 figure (182,000); over six million specialists who had graduated higher or secondary special schools were working in various branches of economy, i.e., about 33 times more than in pre-revolutionary Russia. Science, literature and art are in a flourishing condition and are constantly increasing the spiritual wealth of Soviet society. Lenin Prizes are awarded annually for outstanding achievements in science, engineering, literature and art.

Since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and on the basis of its decisions the Soviet Union, in collaboration with People's China and the other People's Democracies, has extended the struggle for peace and has continued to pursue the policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Between 1956 and 1958 there was considerable activity in the establishment and extension of personal contact between Soviet statesmen and those of foreign countries. The Soviet Union was visited by government delegations from France, Denmark, Sweden, Austria, Belgium, Syria, Finland, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Iran, Afghanistan, the German Federal Republic and Nepal; there were also visits by Party and government delegations from China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, the Mongolian People's Republic and Rumania.



Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant

Soviet government delegations, in their turn, visited Great Britain, Finland, China, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, the Mongolian People's Republic and other countries. Especially prominent were Party and government delegations between the socialist countries, whose visits to each other played an important part in their joint struggle for world peace.

In July 1956 the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. approved a message to the parliaments of all countries on the most urgent and important problem of the day, the problem that is disturbing the peoples of all countries—the problem of disarmament, the reduction of the armed forces and the prohibition of nuclear weapons. In May 1957 the Supreme Soviet approved a message to the legislative bodies of the U.S.A. and Great Britain on the immediate cessation of nuclear test explosions. The Soviet delegation to the United Nations Organization continued the uninterrupted struggle for the solution of these problems.

In October 1956 the Moscow negotiations with the Japanese government delegation ended in the publication of a Communiqué on the cessation of a state of war between the U.S.S.R. and Japan and the establishment of regular diplomatic and consular relations. The Soviet Union also established friendly relations with a number of countries in the Middle East and in Africa where several states have gained their independence; in these years, also there was an extension of trade and cultural relations with many countries.

The VI World Youth and Student Festival held in Moscow from July 28 to August 11, 1957, at which the youth of 131 countries were represented, was a splendid demonstration of the desire of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and other countries for peace and friendship.

In this period the forces of imperialism and reaction used every means at their disposal to undermine peace, start the fires of war burning in various parts of the world, "balance on the brink of war." The imperialists prepared and launched the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary in October 1956. Sound democratic forces in Hungary, under the leadership of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, with the aid of the Soviet Union, proved able to defend the gains of the People's Democratic system and repulse the savage attacks of counter-revolution. In rendering armed assistance to the Hungarian people, the U.S.S.R. fulfilled its duties under the Warsaw Treaty and its international duty to the working people of Hungary and other socialist countries, which was in the interests of peace throughout the world.

At the time of the events in Hungary the imperialists of Great Britain, France and Israel began their military intervention in Egypt. The Soviet Union addressed an appeal to the U.S.A. to combine forces in the United Nations Organization and together with other nations put a stop to aggression. On November 5, 1956, in special messages addressed to the governments of Great Britain, France and Israel, the Soviet Government appealed to them to cease aggression immediately. The heroic struggle of the Egyptian people, the firm position of the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and many Asian and African countries and the determined protests of the general public throughout the world compelled the interventionists to withdraw from Egypt. In the summer of 1958, U.S. and British imperialists, scared by the revolution in Iraq, organized intervention in the Lebanon and Jordan. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies played an important part in ensuring the United Nations majority vote requiring the withdrawal of the intervention troops from the Lebanon and Jordan. The colonialists were forced to retreat.

In the meantime the U.S. imperialists were doing their best to create a new war centre directed against the Chinese People's Republic, using for this purpose the Island of Taiwan, Chinese territory that is still under American occupation. Here

again they met with a decisive rebuff. The Soviet Union replied to the aggressive acts of the U.S.A. by an announcement that an attack on the Chinese People's Republic would be regarded as an attack on the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet people, pursuing a policy of international co-operation and simultaneously strengthening the might of their socialist state, are devoting all their efforts to peaceful communist construction and to the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

Extraordinary Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U.

(January 27-February 5, 1959).

The U.S.S.R. Enters the Period of Extensive Communist Construction

The Congress, which marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Soviet people, the period of extensive communist construction, discussed and approved the report made by N. S. Khrushchov on "Control Figures for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R., 1959-1965." The theses for this report had been approved by a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in November 1958 and prior to the Congress were submitted to the country for discussion; over 70 million people took part.

The report covered a whole historical epoch in the life and work of the Communist Party and the Soviet people. It summarized the outstanding success of socialism in the Soviet Union and outlined the programme for extended communist construction and the development of Soviet society. The Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U. will go down in history as the congress of the builders of communism.

Khrushchov's report, the speeches at the Congress and the resolution adopted constitute a further contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism, striking a crushing blow at every kind of revisionism and dogmatism. The report and resolution provided a theoretical basis and a further development of the most important tenets of Marxism-Leninism: the two phases of communist society; the laws of the development of socialist into communist society; the provision of the material and technical basis of communist society; the distribution of the material and spiritual values produced under socialist and communist conditions; ways of developing and approximating co-

operative (kolkhoz) and socialized forms of socialist property; questions of the political organization of society, the structure of the state and the administration in the period of extensive communist construction; the complete and ultimate victory of socialism; the development of the world socialist system; the creation of real possibilities of alienating war as a means of settling international problems even before the complete victory of socialism in all countries.

The report also said that the socialist state's main line of development will be general progress in the sphere of democracy, the attraction of all sections of the people to the management of the country's affairs, the management of all economic and cultural work.

Socialist democracy means the real power of the people, the all-round development of their initiative and activity, their implementation of the principle of self-government. Many functions that are at present performed by government bodies, will, with full reliance in the power of the people, gradually be transferred to the competence of public organizations.

As the Soviet people advance towards communism a constantly greater role is played by conviction, the social influence of communist upbringing and the conscious discipline of the members of socialist society themselves, while compulsion, on the contrary, is being reduced. There are now no cases of arraignment before the Soviet courts for political offences and there are no persons convicted of political crimes in the prisons.

The Congress summed up the more outstanding achievements in the spheres of industry, agriculture, science and culture. Over-all industrial output for 1958 was 36 times that of 1913, the output of the means of production (capital goods) having increased 83-fold and that of the machine-building and metalworking industries 240-fold. In 1958 the U.S.S.R. produced about 55 million tons of steel, extracted 113 million tons of oil and generated 233,000 million kw-h of electricity. In 1958 labour productivity had increased to 10 times the 1913 figure. The national economy of the U.S.S.R. in 1958 employed 54,600,000 factory, professional and office workers, i.e., more than four times the number employed in 1913.

The country has achieved very great successes in the development of socialist farming, especially in the last five years preceding the Congress (1953-1958), the period in which the programme to effect a substantial increase in agricultural out-

put was implemented. In 1958 there were about 70,000 collective and 6,000 state farms. The area sown to grain crops increased from 106,700,000 hectares in 1953 to 125,200,000 hectares in 1958; the total area cropped in 1958 was more than 195 million hectares. The non-distributable assets of the collective farms increased from 70,000 million rubles in 1953 to 102,000 million rubles on January 1, 1958. The total grain harvest increased from 5,036 million poods in 1953 to 8,500 million poods in 1958; state purchases of grain amounted to 3,500 million poods as compared with the 1,900 million poods in 1953.

The Soviet Union has made great progress towards the solution of the basic economic problem—that of overtaking the leading capitalist countries in the output of industrial and agricultural goods per head of population. The U.S.S.R. has outstripped the U.S.A. not only in the rate of increase but also in the absolute annual increase in the output of many items, in particular iron ore, pig iron, steel, oil, coal and cement. In some of the more important industrial and agricultural items—woollen goods, round and sawn timber, butter, wheat, sugar-beet and potatoes—the U.S.S.R. has passed the U.S. level of total output.

The correct national policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, the policy of the fraternal co-operation of all nations and nationalities, has effected colossal progress in the economy and culture of all the republics. In the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan the output of large-scale industry in 1958 was 50 times that of pre-revolutionary days; the industries of the Transcaucasian Republics underwent a 30-fold increase in the same period and those of the Baltic Republics had increased to 9.5 times the 1940 figure by 1958.

Material and cultural standards have steadily risen. Between 1940 and 1958 the real wages of factory, professional and office workers (with due account paid to pensions, benefits, free educational and medical services) were almost doubled. The *national income*, calculated per head of population, has increased 15 times in the Soviet period.

There has been continual cultural progress among all nations and nationalities with the result that the U.S.S.R. by the time of the Congress held one of the first places in the world for the level of science and engineering. By 1958 schools and colleges of all kinds had a total enrolment of over 50,000,000. In that year there were 765 higher educational institutions (uni-

U.S.S.R., i.e., 27 times more than before the revolution. Great progress has been made in literature and art and Soviet society has become much richer in all spiritual values.

The main tasks of the new period, the period of extended communist construction, are: the provision of the material and technical foundation of communism, the further consolidation of the economic and defence power of the U.S.S.R. and the development of production to keep up with the constantly growing needs of the people. The fulfilment of these tasks implies catching up with and outstripping the developed capitalist countries in per capita output. The fulfilment of all these tasks will require a period much longer than seven years and the Seven-Year Plan is a component part of the long-term plan for the development of Soviet economy and culture over a period of 15 years.

Khrushchov's report to the Twenty-First Congress outlined the main tasks of the Seven-Year Plan whose implementation was just beginning when the Congress opened. They were:

in the sphere of economy—the over-all development of the country's productive forces and the achievement of a growth in



Sanatorium "Ukraine" at Miskhor in the Crimea

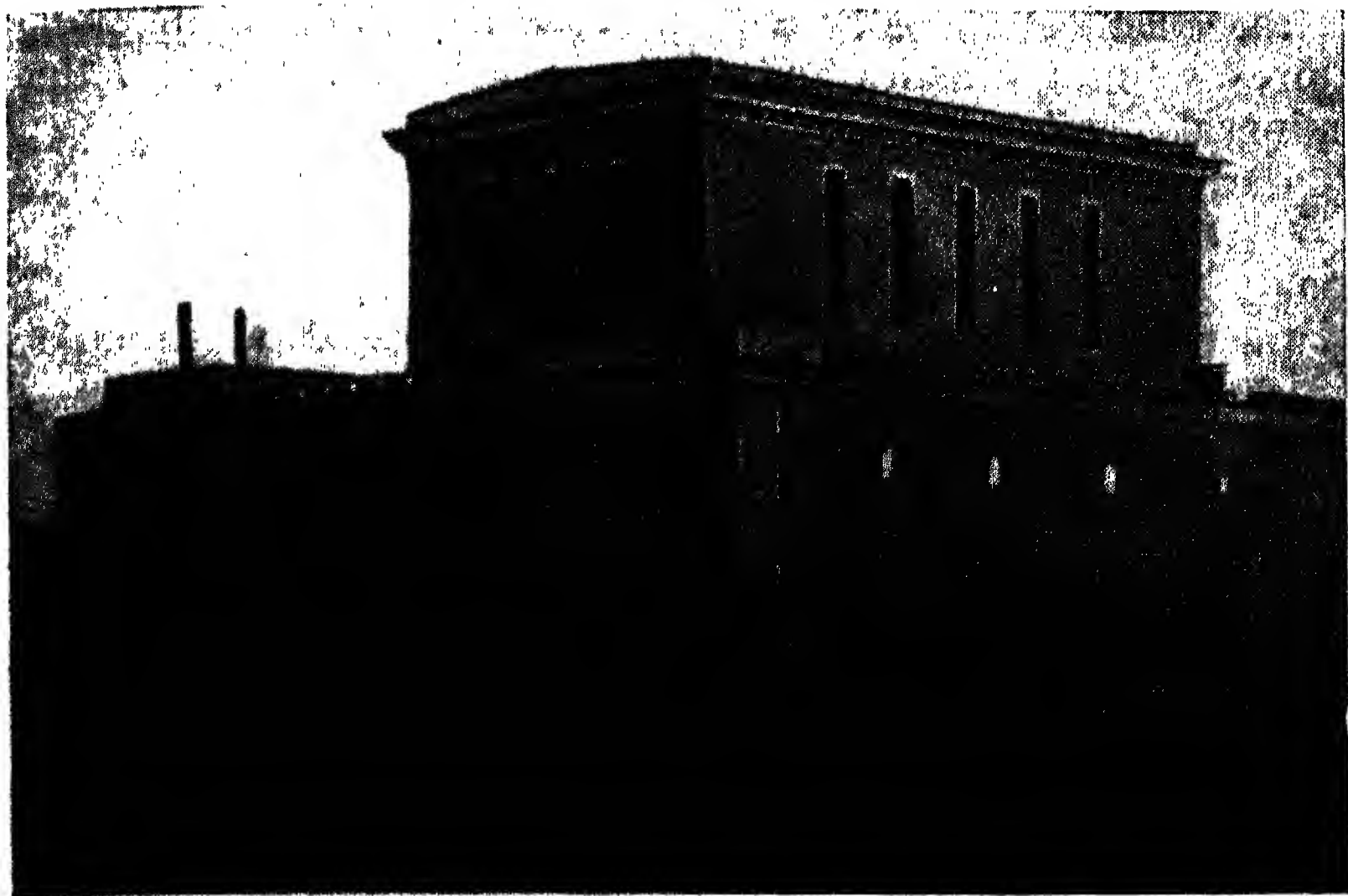
production in all branches of economy (based on the priority development of heavy industry) sufficient to make considerable progress in providing the material and technical basis for communism and ensure the victory of the U.S.S.R. in the peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries; the growth of the country's economic potential and further technical progress in all branches of economy coupled with a steady growth in the productivity of social labour should ensure a much higher living standard;

in the political sphere—the further strengthening of the Soviet socialist system, the unity and solidarity of the Soviet people and the development of Soviet democracy, the activity of the entire people in the building of a communist society, the extension of the functions of public organizations in the solution of state problems, the great organizational and educational role of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, the strengthening of the alliance of the workers and peasants and of the friendship of all the peoples of the country;

in the ideological sphere—increased ideological-educational work on the part of the Communist Party, greater communist conscientiousness on the part of the working people, especially the rising generation, and their training in the spirit of a communist attitude to labour, Soviet patriotism and internationalism; the elimination of the remnants of capitalism in the consciousness of the people and the struggle against bourgeois ideology;

in the sphere of international relations—the consistent pursuit of a foreign policy that promotes the preservation and consolidation of peace and security on the basis of the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; every effort to be made to stop the cold war and lessen world tension; the all-round strengthening of the world socialist system and the co-operation of fraternal peoples.

The basic task of the Seven-Year Plan is to make the greatest progress in the economic competition with capitalism in the shortest possible time. Khrushchov's report on the control figures for the 1959-1965 period constituted a concrete programme for the rapid development of industry, agriculture, science and culture, and for considerable improvement in the living standards of the people. In order to make decisive progress in these seven years the plan envisages an over-all increase in industrial output of 80 per cent between 1958 and 1965—group A



Building housing the reactor of the Soviet 100,000 kw. atomic power station. The capacity of this station is to be increased to 600,000 kw.

(the production of the means of production) by 85-88 per cent and group B (the production of consumer goods) by 62-65 per cent. The increase in output during the seven years will be equal to the growth in production for the preceding twenty years.

The increase in agricultural production during the seven years was fixed at 70 per cent, the grain harvest to be raised to 10,000-11,000 million poods a year by 1965.

Investments envisaged for the seven years amount to three trillion rubles (a thirteen-figure sum!)—almost as much as has been invested in the national economy during all the years of Soviet power. The constant development of technology, overall mechanization and automation of production processes will, according to plan, greatly increase *labour productivity*.

The following are a few of the targets set by the Seven-Year Plan that will give the reader some idea of the gigantic nature of the tasks involved:

by 1965 the amount of pig iron smelted will have reached an annual 65-70 million tons, steel—86-91 million tons; rolled stock will be 65-70 million tons a year and the annual extraction of iron ore will reach 150-160 million tons;

the chemical industry will increase its output of man-made fibres 4 times, plastics and synthetic resins more than 7 times, mineral fertilizers about 3 times;

the fuel industry will produce 230-240 million tons of oil, 150,000 million cubic metres of gas, 600-612 million tons of coal;

the power industry will generate 500,000-520,000 million kw-h of electric current;

the machine-building and instrument-making industries will double their output;

the light industry will increase its output by about 50 per cent and the food industry by 70 per cent;

productivity of labour—the over-all increase in industry will be 45-50 per cent; building workers will increase labour productivity by 60-65 per cent, railwaymen by 34-37 per cent, state farms by 60-65 per cent and collective farms by about 100 per cent.

The Congress elaborated a number of important welfare measures to improve living standards within the period under discussion.

The Seven-Year Plan is a plan for peaceful building. Its fulfilment and the fulfilment of the economic plans of all socialist countries will play an important role in the maintenance of peace. Real conditions for the alienation of war as a means of



Building housing the Soviet 10,000 million electron-volt accelerator

settling international problems will have been reached. The fulfilment or overfulfilment of the Soviet Seven-Year Plan and the rapid rates of economic development in the People's Democracies will bring the total output of the world socialist system up to more than a half of the world's total output. This will ensure the predominance of the world socialist system over the world capitalist system in the production of material values, i.e., in the decisive sphere of human activity. And this will be a victory of tremendous historical significance.

The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had great international significance. It was attended by delegations from the Marxist-Leninist Parties of 72 countries—the greatest representation of the world communist movement in history. The leaders of the delegations of 50 fraternal parties spoke from the Congress platform and greetings from numerous other parties were received and published. The speeches and messages all stressed the fact that the plan for the building of communism discussed by the Congress has nothing to equal it in scope, in the profundity of its elaboration and in its theoretical basis; it reflects the historic gains of socialism, demonstrates its advantages and shows clearly the prospects for progress that are an inspiration to the working people of the whole world.

The Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U. laid special stress on the fact that the implementation of the Seven-Year Plan and the plans of other socialist countries will provide still more favourable conditions for the maintenance of world peace. The Soviet Union will continue to pursue its Leninist peace policy whose objective is to maintain and strengthen peace and security on the basis of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; it is a policy that aims at the cessation of the cold war, the lessening of international tension and the all-round strengthening of the world socialist system.

1959—the first year of the Seven-Year Plan—saw a tremendous advance in all branches of economy; the decisions of the 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U. were being put into effect with great enthusiasm and the achievements of this year ensured further developments that would raise the living and cultural standards of the people.

The Seven-Year Plan had envisaged an over-all increase of

7.7 per cent in industrial output for 1959 but the actual figure for this year was 11 per cent higher than that of 1958. Industrial goods to the value of about 50,000 million rubles were produced in excess of the planned figure.

Leading branches of the heavy industry—metallurgy, coal, etc.—fulfilled their plans ahead of schedule and over 1,000 new factories began work in 1959.

Despite unfavourable weather conditions in some parts of the country, the selfless work of the farmers produced a very satisfactory over-all harvest. The total grain harvest amounted to 124,800,000 tons and the cotton harvest to 4,700,000 tons; meat output was 32 per cent higher than in 1958. The 1959 milk figure was 62 million tons which is 5 million tons more than was produced in the U.S.A. for the same year. Butter produced amounted to 845,000 tons or four kilograms per head of population; the U.S. figure for 1959 was 658,000 tons, or 3.7 kilograms per head of population.

The national income of the U.S.S.R. increased in proportion to the successes achieved in industry and agriculture, the 1959 income standing at about 100,000 million rubles more than the 1958 figure.

Housing development was on an unprecedented scale. In the one year of 1959 state-owned housing increased by 80 million square metres of floor space, i.e., over 2,200,000 modern flats. In addition to this the rural population—farmers and intellectuals—built about 850,000 dwelling houses.

The general improvement in the living standards of the people led to a further increase in purchasing capacity; the retail trade turnover for 1959 was 709,600 million rubles, or 8 per cent higher than in 1958.

In science and engineering the year 1959 brought some wonderful achievements. Fresh advances were made in the conquest of outer space. Three Soviet space rockets were launched in 1959; one of them, as mentioned above, by-passed the moon and became a solar satellite. The second reached the moon and landed there, bearing the official pennant of the U.S.S.R. The third photographed the invisible surface of the moon. Another 1959 achievement was the maiden voyage of the *Lenin*, the world's first atomic ice-breaker.

Further successes were recorded in implementing the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence as promulgated anew in the decisions of the 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U. Of supreme im-

portance in this sphere was the visit paid by N. S. Khrushchov, Head of the Soviet Government, to the U.S.A. in September 1959.

During his trip through the United States, the Soviet Premier met with a rousing welcome from thousands and thousands of people; great enthusiasm was displayed, political convictions notwithstanding.

The splendid welcome afforded the envoy of the Soviet people is evidence of the tremendous international prestige the Soviet socialist state has gained by its consistent and energetic activity for the maintenance of world peace.

N. S. Khrushchov's visit to the U.S.A. is of historic importance because it contributed to the establishment of better understanding between the American and Soviet peoples, laid down concrete conditions for the expansion of international co-operation, promoted a further relaxation of world tension and strengthened world peace.

N. S. Khrushchov's historic visit and the proposals for general and complete disarmament which he announced at the U. N. General Assembly, gave millions of people fresh hope in the triumph of reason in international affairs.

These Soviet achievements in industry and agriculture, science and culture, in raising living standards and in the struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace are the result of the gigantic organizational activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by the invincible, eternally viable Marxist-Leninist theory, has roused the masses of the people in a tremendous creative effort to build communism in the U.S.S.R. and ensure a happy future for all people.

CHRONOLOGY

<i>B. C.</i>	
c. 800,000	Early or Lower Palaeolithic on U.S.S.R. territory
to	
c. 40,000	
40,000	Late or Upper Palaeolithic on U.S.S.R. territory
to	
13,000	
13,000	Mesolithic (transition from Palaeolithic to Neolithic)
to	
7,000-5,000	
5,000	Neolithic and Aëneolithic on U.S.S.R. territory.
to	Oldest Aëneolithic farming and pastoral cultures
2,000	
4,000-3,000	Anau culture (I and II)
4,000-3,000	Keltiminar culture
3,000-2,000	Transcaucasian cultures. Tripolye culture
3,000-1,000	Shaft and Catacomb cultures
2,000-1,000	Bronze Age on U.S.S.R. territory
2,000-1,500	Afanasyevskaya culture
2,000-1,000	Abashevo culture
1,500-1,000	Andronovskaya culture
2nd millennium	Anau III culture. Tazabaghyab culture
Turn of 2nd-1st millennia	Karasuk culture
1,500-1,000	<i>Srubnaya</i> culture
2nd millennium	Trialeti culture
1,000-500	Colchis and Koban cultures
900-500	Emergence and Golden Age of the Urartu state
700-400	Greek colonies founded on Black Sea coast
700-200	Scythian supremacy in Black Sea steppes

522-517	First written record of Khwarezmians, Sogdians, Sacae and Bactrians (Behistun inscriptions by Darius I Hystaspes)
5th cent. B. C. to 4th cent. A. D.	Bosporus Kingdom
329-328 B. C.	Alexander of Macedon conquers Central Asia
4th cent. B. C. to 3rd cent. A. D.	Sarmatians in Black Sea steppes
3rd cent. B. C. to 3rd cent. A. D.	Scythian state in the Crimea
c. 250-c. 130 B. C.	Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom in Central Asia
190 B.C.	Revolt against Seleucids in Armenia
107 B.C.	Revolt of slaves under Saumacus in Bosporus Kingdom
A. D.	
3rd cent.	Appearance of Goths in Black Sea area
375	Huns invade Black Sea steppes
6th-8th cent.	First political alliances of East Slavs
c. 552	Emergence of Turkic Kaghanate
c. 588	Partition of Turkic Kaghanate into Eastern and Western
7th-10th cent.	Khazar Kaghanate
c. 650-750	Arab conquest of Armenia, Albania (Northern Azerbaijan), East Georgia and Central Asia
772-775	Revolt in Armenia against Arab rule under leadership of Musheg Mamikonyan and Smbat Bagratuni
776-783	Popular uprising against Arab rule in Central Asia under leadership of Mukanna
816-837	Peasant war in Azerbaijan, Armenia and East Georgia under leadership of Babek (Red Banner [Horramite] movement)
2nd half of the 9th cent.	Formation of the state of Rus
875-999	Samanid State in Central Asia
879-early 10th cent.	Reign of Prince Oleg
911	Treaty between Prince Oleg of Kiev and Byzantium
Early 10th cent.	Igor, Prince of Kiev
945-972	Svyatoslav Igorevich, Prince of Kiev
c. 980-1015	Vladimir Svyatoslavich, Prince of Kiev
c. 988-989	Conversion to Christianity in Ancient Rus
1019-1054	Yaroslav Vladimirovich, Prince of Kiev
Early 11th cent.	Seizure of Armenian lands by Byzantium. Compilation of the oldest <i>Law—Yaroslav's Law</i>

1024	Popular uprising in Rostov-Suzdal Principality
1030	Yaroslav the Wise founds Yuryev (Tartu) in the land of the Esths
1068	First major invasion of Russian land by Polovtsi. Popular uprising in Kiev
c. 1071	Popular uprising in Rostov land
1080-1137	Armenian state in Cilicia (Asia Minor)
1089-1125	David IV the Builder, King of Georgia
1097	Congress of Princes at Lyubech at which the grandsons of Prince Yaroslav divided Rus among themselves, each having his own demesne
1113	Popular uprising in Kiev
1113-1125	Vladimir Monomachus, Grand Duke of Kiev
1122	King David IV the Builder transfers the capital of Georgia from Kutaisi to Tbilisi
1125-1157	Yuri Dolgoruky, Prince of Rostov-Suzdal (from 1155 Grand Duke of Kiev)
1136	Popular uprising in Novgorod and environs. Expulsion of Prince Vsevolod Matislavich; emergence of feudal republic
1147	First mention of Moscow in chronicles
1153-1187	Yaroslav Osmomysl, Prince of Galicia
1157-1174	Andrei Yuryevich Bogolyubsky, Prince of Rostov-Suzdal
1174	Popular uprising in the Principality of Vladimir-Suzdal
1176-1212	Vsevolod Yuryevich (The Big Nest), Prince of Vladimir-Suzdal
1184-1213	Reign of Queen T'hamar in Georgia
1185	Campaign of Prince Igor of Novgorod-Seversky against the Polovtsi
c. 1195	Commercial Treaty between Novgorod and the German towns and the Island of Gotland
1200	Bishop Albert of Bremen lands in Livonia with crusaders
1201	Foundation of Riga
1202	Foundation of the Order of Knights Sword-Bearers (<i>Schwerbrüder</i>)
1206	Temuchin proclaimed head of the Mongol state under name of Chingis (Genghis) Khan
1206-1207	Popular uprising in Bokhara under Sanjar Malik
1219-1221	Mongol-Tatars conquer Central Asia
1223	Battle between Russians and Mongol-Tatars on River Kalka

1235-1239	Mongol-Tatars conquer Transcaucasus
1236	Batu conquers Bulgar state
1237-1240	Batu invades Rus
1237	Union of the Teutonic Order and the Order of Knights Sword-Bearers and formation of the Livonian Order
1238	Battle between Russians and Mongol-Tatars on River Sit
	Popular uprising under Mahmud Tarabi against Mongol-Tatars in Bokhara
1240, July 15	Battle on the Neva: Swedish forces defeated by Alexander Yaroslavich (Nevsky)
1240	Mongol-Tatars invade Hungary and Poland
1242, Apr. 5	Battle on the Ice of Lake Peipus
40s of 13th cent.	Formation of the Golden Horde
1252-1263	Alexander Nevsky, Grand Duke
1257-1259	Mongol-Tatars take census of homesteads in Rus
1259	Uprising against Mongol-Tatars in Novgorod
1262	Uprisings against Mongol-Tatars in Rostov, Vladimir, Suzdal and Yaroslavl
1302	Principality of Pereyaslavl unites with Moscow
1316-1341	Gediminas, Grand Duke of Lithuania
1325-1340	Ivan Kalita, Prince of Moscow (Grand Duke from 1328)
1326	Seat of the Metropolitan moved from Vladimir-on-Klyazma to Moscow
1327	Uprising in Tver against Mongol-Tatars
1340-1353	Semyon Ivanovich the Proud, Grand Duke of Moscow
1343-1345	Revolt of Estonians against the rule of the Danes and Germans (St. George's Night)
1345-1377	Olgierdas, Grand Duke of Lithuania
1359-1389	Dmitry Donskoi, Grand Duke of Moscow
1365-1366	Mongols invade Mawerannahr. Popular uprising in Samarkand under leadership of Abu-Bekr Kelevi and Maulana Zada
1367	Building of the stone-walled Kremlin in Moscow
1370-1405	Rule of Timur (Tamerlane) in Mawerannahr
1378	Victory of Moscow troops over Tatars on River Vozha
1380, Sept. 8	Battle of Kulikovo. Victory of Russian troops under command of Dmitry Donskoi over Mongol-Tatars
1382	Invasion of Toktamish. Uprising in Moscow. First mention of fire-arms in Rus
1385	The Kreves Union of Lithuania and Poland

1389-1425	Vasily I Dmitrievich, Grand Duke of Moscow
1392	Principality of Suzdal-Novgorod annexed to Grand Duchy of Moscow
1392-1430	Vytautas, Grand Duke of Lithuania
1395	Timur defeats Golden Horde
End of 14th cent.	Formation of Nogai Horde
Early 15th cent.	Formation of Uzbek Khanate
1410, Jul. 15	Battle of Grünwald (Tannenberg); defeat of Teutonic knights by joint Polish, Lithuanian and Russian forces
1425-1462	Vasily II (the Dark), Grand Duke of Moscow
1427	Formation of Crimean Khanate
30s of 15th cent.	Formation of Kazan Khanate
1447	Ordinance of Casimir in Grand Duchy of Lithuania extending authority of landowners over peasantry
c. 1459-1460	Formation of Astrakhan Khanate
1462-1505	Ivan III Vasilyevich, Grand Duke of Moscow
1463	Principality of Yaroslavl annexed to Grand Duchy of Moscow
1465	Campaign of Moscow army in North Urals (Yugra)
1471	Ivan III conducts campaign against Novgorod; victory of Muscovite army on River Shelon
1472	Perm lands annexed to Moscow
1474	Principality of Rostov annexed to Moscow
1475	Turks invade Crimea; Crimean Khanate becomes vassal of Turkey
1478	Novgorod annexed to Moscow
1480	"The Stand on the Ugra." Rus throws off Mongol-Tatar yoke
1483	Ivan III conducts campaign in Urals and Yugra Land
1485	Principality of Tver annexed to Moscow
1489	Khlynov (Vyatka lands) annexed to Moscow
1490-1492	Mukha's revolt in Moldavia and Galicia
1497	<i>Legal Code (Sudebnik)</i> of Ivan III
1499-1500	Troops of Ivan III campaign beyond Urals (Yugra)
End of 15th cent.	Formation of Siberian Khanate
Beginning of 16th cent.	Principality of Moldavia under Turkish rule

1500-1503	Russo-Lithuanian War for Russian principalities under Lithuanian rule on Upper Oka and Desna
1505-1533	Vasily III Ivanovich, Grand Duke of Moscow
1510	Pskov annexed to Grand Duchy of Moscow (Russian state)
1514	Smolensk becomes part of Russian state
1521	Principality of Ryazan annexed to Russian state
1529	First Lithuanian Statute
1533-1584	Ivan IV (the Terrible), Grand Duke of Moscow, from 1547 Tsar of Russia
1539	The first known criminal codes (<i>Gubnaya gramota</i>) of Belozero and Kargopol
1545-1546	Part of Chuvash and Mari tribes join Russian state
1547, Jan. 16	Grand Duke Ivan IV crowned Tsar of Russia
1547	Popular uprising in Moscow
1549	First Conclave of the Lands
1550	<i>Legal Code (Sudebnik)</i> of Ivan IV. Formation of regular regiments of musketeers (<i>strel'tsi</i>). Edict on limitation of posts open to boyars in the regiments
1551	Conclave of the Hundred
1552	Conquest of Kazan Khanate
1552-1557	Chuvash and Mari complete union with Russia; Udmurts, Bashkirs and Tatars join Russian state
1552-1557	Cherkess and Kabarda princes become vassals of Russian state
1555-1556	Abolition of the system of local governors (<i>kormleniye</i>) and the introduction of a criminal court system (<i>gubnoi sud</i> , <i>Razboiny prikaz</i>) and reform of rural administration
1556	Annexation of the Khanate of Astrakhan
c. 1556	"Ordinance on the Service of All People"
1558-1583	Livonian War
1562	Formation of the Duchy of Kurland
1565-1584	<i>Oprichnina</i>
1569	Union of Lublin between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland, formation of the Rzecz Pospolita
1571	Raid on Moscow by Devlet Girei, Khan of Crimea
1581	First known "year of interdiction" when the manumission of serfs was forbidden Yermak begins his Siberian campaign
1582	Ten-year armistice with Poland signed at Zapolsky Yam. Russia renounces her claim to Livonia

1583	Armistice between Russia and Sweden signed on River Plusse
1584-1598	Reign of Fyodor Ivanovich
1589	Establishment of the patriarchate of Russia
1590-1593	Russo-Swedish War; Russia regains Yam, Ivangorod, Koporye and Korela
1591-1593	Revolt in the Ukraine under K. Kosinsky
1594	Peasant disturbances at the Monastery of St. Joseph in Volokolamsk
1594-1596	Revolt in the Ukraine and Byelorussia under S. Nalivaiko and G. Loboda
1595	Tiavsin Peace Treaty with Sweden
1596	The Church Union of Brest
1597, Apr. 25	Edict on Bondsmen
1597, Nov. 24	Edict on the five-year time limit for the recapture of runaway serfs
1598-1605	Reign of Boris Godunov
End of 16th cent.	Formation of three Kazakh Hordes (Zhuz)—Younger, Middle and Elder
1601-1603	Famine in Russia
1603	Revolt of peasants and bondsmen under Khlopok
1605-1606	Reign of False Dmitry I
1606, May 17	Popular revolt in Moscow against Polish intervention. Assassination of False Dmitry I
1606-1607	Peasant War led by Ivan Bolotnikov
1606-1610	Reign of Vasily Shuisky
1607, Mar. 9	Ordinance of Vasily Shuisky
1609-1611	Heroic defence of Smolensk against the Poles
1610, Sept.	Polish invaders enter Moscow
1611, Mar. 19	Revolt in Moscow against Poles; Poles burn Moscow
1611	First people's army
1611, Jul.	Swedes capture Novgorod
1611, Sept.-Oct.	Kuzma Minin forms second people's army in Nizhny Novgorod
1612, Aug. 22-24	People's army under Minin and Pozharsky fights for the liberation of Moscow
1612, Oct. 26	Moscow Kremlin liberated from Poles
1613	Conclave of the Lands elects Mikhail Romanov tsar
1613-1645	Reign of Tsar Mikhail
1617	Stolbova Peace Treaty concluded between Russia and Sweden

1618	Deulino Peace Treaty concluded between Russia and Poland
1623	Revolt in Kartli against Persians; Giorgi Saakadze, "the great Mouravi," heads the revolt
1630	Revolt in Ukraine under Taras Fyodorovich
1631-1632	Organization of Russian army on "foreign lines" (light cavalry, dragoons and infantry regiments)
1632-1634	Russo-Polish War
1634	Polyanovo Treaty with Poland
1635	Revolt in the Ukraine under the leadership of Ivan Sulima
1637-1638	Revolts in the Ukraine under the leadership of Pavlyuk (Pavel But), Dimitry Gunya and Yakov Ost-ryanin
1638	Ordinance abolishing the self-government of registered Cossacks in the Ukraine
1645-1676	Reign of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich
1648	Popular uprising in Moscow (known as "the Salt Re-volt"), and also in Kursk, Kozlov, Veliky Ustyug, Sol Vychegodskaya and Tomsk
1648	Beginning of the Ukrainian war of liberation under the leadership of Bogdan Khmelnitsky
1649	Ordinance of the Conclave issued by Tsar Alexei
1649	Bogdan Khmelnitsky gains victory at Zborow. The Treaty of Zborow
1650	Revolts in Pskov and Novgorod
1652-1666	Nikon, Patriarch of Russia
1654, Jan. 8 (18)	The Council (Rada) of Pereyaslavl that adopted a de-cision on the union of Russia and the Ukraine
1654-1667	Russo-Polish War
1656-1658	Russo-Swedish War
1661	Kardis Peace Treaty with Sweden
1662, Jul. 25-26	Popular revolt (known as the "Copper Revolt") in Moscow
1666	Movement of the Cossack poor under the leadership of Vasily Us
1667	Andrussovo Armistice with Poland
1667	New Commercial Charter
1667-1671	Peasant War led by Stepan Razin
1668-1676	Revolt at Solovetsky Monastery
1676-1681	War between Russia and Turkey and Crimea
1676-1682	Reign of Fyodor Alexeyevich
1679-1681	Fiscal reform: introduction of the farm tax

1682	Abolition of the system of local governors. Revolt of the <i>streltsi</i> in Moscow
1682-1689	Reign of Sophia
1682-1725	Reign of Peter I
1686	"Eternal Peace" between Russia and Poland
1687	First Crimean campaign
1689	Second Crimean campaign
	Nerchinsk Treaty between Russia and China
1695	First Azov campaign
1696	Second Azov campaign. Capture of Azov
1697	First Russian merchant caravan to China
1697-1698	The "Grand Embassy" to Western Europe. Peter I travels abroad
1698	<i>Streltsi</i> revolt in Moscow
1699	Reform of the municipalities with a City Hall (Palace of the Burgomaster) in Moscow and municipal offices in other towns
1700, Jan. 1	Introduction of a new calendar in Russia
1700-1721	The Northern War
1703, May 16	Foundation of St. Petersburg
1703	Publication, in Moscow, of first Russian printed newspaper, <i>Vedomosti</i> (<i>Records</i>)
1705	First conscription of recruits in Russia
1705-1706	Revolt in Astrakhan
1705-1711	Bashkirian revolt
1707-1708	Revolt led by K. Bulavin
1708	Gubernia reform of Peter I: eight gubernias established
1709, Jun. 27	Battle of Poltava
1710	Russian forces take Vyhorg, Riga and Reval
1711	Institution of the Government Senate
1711	Peter I campaigns on the Prut
1714	Russian victory over Swedes at Hango (Gangut)
1714	Edict issued by Peter I on majority heritage
1715	Foundation of the Naval Academy in St. Petersburg
1716	Army Regulations of Peter I
1718	Foundation of the collegiums
1718	Edict on a general census
1719	Regional reform
1720	Russian fleet defeats Swedes at Grönhamn

1720	Institution of city magistratures with Chief Magistrature in St. Petersburg
1721	Treaty of Nystad between Russia and Sweden
1721	Foundation of the Holy Synod
1721	Edict permitting factory-owners to purchase serfs for the factories
1721	Peter I adopts title of Emperor
1722	Table of Ranks
1722-1723	Peter's Persian campaign
1724	Introduction of the poll tax
1724	Foundation of Academy of Sciences (opened in 1725)
1725-1727	Reign of Catherine I
1727-1730	Reign of Peter II
1730-1740	Reign of Anna Ivanovna
1731	Kazakhs of the Younger Zhuz (Horde) become Russian subjects
1735-1739	Russo-Turkish War
1741-1742	Dzungarians defeat and subjugate Middle Zhuz in Kazakhstan
1741-1743	Russo-Swedish War
1741-1761	Reign of Elizabeth
1744-1798	Reign of Irakli (Heraclius) II, King of Georgia
1749	Disturbances amongst workers at Moscow Felt Mills
1753	Edict abolishing internal tariffs in Russia
1754	Foundation of the Bank of the Nobility and the Merchants' Bank
1755	Foundation of Moscow University
1755	Insurrection in Bashkiria led by Batyrshi
1756-1762	Russian participation in Seven Years' War, 1756-1763
1757	Foundation of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg
1757	Victory of Russian troops at Gross-Jagersdorf
1759	Victory of Russian troops at Kunersdorf
1760	Russian forces occupy Berlin
1760	Edict giving landowners right to exile peasants to permanent settlement in Siberia
1761-1762	Reign of Peter III
1762	Manifesto of the Rights of the Nobility issued by Peter III
1762-1796	Reign of Catherine II
1764	Secularization of church lands

1764	Hetmanship of the Ukraine abolished
1765	Edict giving landowners right to send peasants to penal servitude in Siberia
1765	Foundation of the Free Economic Society
1767	Edict forbidding serfs to submit complaints against their owners
1768	Revolt of peasants in Western Ukraine (<i>Koliivshchina</i>)
1768-1774	Russo-Turkish War
1770, Jun. 26	Victory of Russian fleet at Cheshme
1772	First partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria
1773-1775	Peasant War led by Yemelyan Pugachyov
1774	Kuchuk-Kainarji Peace Treaty with Turkey
1775	Abolition of the New <i>Sech</i> (Cossack fortress)
1775	Gubernia Reform
1776	Bolshoi Theatre founded in Moscow
1779	Founding of the Black Sea Fleet
1780	Declaration on armed neutrality
1783	The Crimea annexed to Russia
1783	Georgia accepts vassal dependence on Russia
1783	Edict making peasants of Eastern Ukraine serfs
1784	G. Shelekhov establishes first settlements in Alaska
1785	Charter of the Nobility. Charter Defining the Rights and Privileges of the Towns of the Russian Empire
1787-1791	Russo-Turkish War
1788	Ochakov captured by Russian troops
1788-1790	Russo-Swedish War
1789	Victories of Russian troops under Suvorov at Focsani and Rimnik
1790	Russian fleet under Admiral Ushakov defeats Turks at Tendra
1790	Russian forces under Suvorov capture Ismail
1790	Radishchev's <i>Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow</i> published
1791	Treaty of Jassy concluded between Russia and Turkey
1793	Second partition of Poland between Russia and Prussia
1794	Polish insurrection under Tadeusz Kosciuszko
1795	Persian invasion of Georgia
1795	Third partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria. Byelorussia, Lithuania and Kurland annexed to Russia

1796-1797	Peasant uprisings in 32 gubernias
1796-1801	Reign of Paul I
1797	Edict on Three-Day Corvée Service
1799	Suvorov's campaigns in Italy and Switzerland
1799	Foundation of the Russian-American Company
1801	Eastern Georgia annexed to Russia
1801-1825	Reign of Alexander I
1802	Institution of the ministries and Committee of Ministers
1803	Decree on Free Cultivators
1804-1813	Russo-Persian War Gulistan Peace Treaty, 1813. Northern Azerbaijan and Daghestan annexed to Russia
1804	First University Charter
1804	First Censorship Regulations
1805-1807	Russia in alliance with Austria, Britain and Prussia at war with Napoleonic France
1806-1812	Russo-Turkish War; Treaty of Bucharest, 1812. Bessarabia and Western Georgia annexed to Russia
1807	Russia joins continental blockade
1807	Treaty of Tilsit between Russia and France
1808-1809	Russo-Swedish War; Fredrikshamn Treaty, 1809. Finland annexed to Russia
1809	Speransky's project for the transformation of the Russian state
1810	Institution of the State Council
1810	First military colonies established
1812	Napoleon I invades Russia. Patriotic War of the Russian people
1812, Aug. 26	Battle of Borodino
1813-1814	Russian army's campaign in Western Europe
1814-1815	Vienna Congress
1815	First steamship built in Russia
1815	Organization of the Holy Alliance
1816	Organization of the League of Salvation, the first Decembrist secret society
1816-1819	Peasant reforms in the Baltic gubernias (in Estland in 1816, in Kurland in 1817 and in Lifland in 1819)
1817	Foundation of the State Commercial Bank
1818	Foundation of the League of Prosperity

1819	Foundation of St. Petersburg University
1819	Revolt of military colonists at Chuguyev
1819-1820	Revolt in Imeretia
1820	Disturbances in the Semyonovsky Guards Regiment in St. Petersburg
1821	Foundation of the Decembrist secret societies, the Northern and Southern
1823	Foundation of the Society of United Slavs—Decembrists
1825, Dec. 14	Decembrist revolt on Senate Square (now Decembrist Square) in St. Petersburg
1825-1855	Reign of Nicholas I
1825, Dec. 29- 1826, Jan. 3	Revolt of the Chernigov Regiment in the Ukraine (under the leadership of the Decembrists)
1826	New censorship charter (the "cast-iron" charter)
1826	Foundation of the "Third Department" of the Imperial Chancellery
1826, Jul. 13	Execution of five Decembrists: Pestel, Muravyov-Apostol, Bestuzhev-Ryumin, Ryleyev and Kakhovsky
1826-1828	Russo-Persian War; Turkmanchai Peace Treaty, 1828. Eastern Armenia annexed to Russia
1826, Sept. 25 (Oct. 7)	Akkerman Convention between Russia and Turkey
1827	Activities of the student revolutionary circle led by the Kriitsky brothers in Moscow
1827, Jul. 6	Russia, Britain and France adopt London Convention on the Greek question (Eastern problem)
1827, Oct. 8 (20)	Defeat of Turkish fleet by combined fleets of Russia, Britain and France in Navarino Bay
1828-1829	Russo-Turkish War. Adrianople Peace Treaty, 1829
1828	Institution of the Manufactures Council
1829	First All-Russian Industrial Exhibition
1830	Uprising in Sevastopol
1830-1831	Polish Insurrection
1831	Revolt of military colonists in Novgorod Gubernia
1832-1835	Highest point reached by the peasant movement under Karmalyuk in Western Ukraine
1832	Provincial Status of the Kingdom of Poland; Polish constitution abrogated
1833	Manifesto on the introduction (from 1835) of the "Legal Code of the Russian Empire"
1833	Edict prohibiting the sale of serfs by public auction

1833, Jun. 26 (Jul. 8)	Unkiar Skelessi Treaty between Russia and Turkey
1834-1859	Shamil, Imam of Daghestan. The mountain peoples struggle for independence
1836-1837	Isatai Taimanov's movement in Kazakhstan
1837	Opening of first Russian railway (Tsarskoye Selo)
1837-1841	Reorganization of the administration of state-owned serfs (Kiselyov's reform)
1839, August	Opening of Pulkovo Astronomical Observatory
1839-1840	General Perovsky's Khiva campaign
1840	Law permitting factory-owners to release bonded workmen
1840-1841	Two London conventions; regulation of Black Sea Straits regime; Russia renounces the Unkiar Skelessi Treaty
1840	Edict on the abolition of the Lithuanian Statute, Russian laws extended to the western provinces
1841	Revolt of workmen at Revda in the Urals
1841	Peasant uprising in Guria
1841-1845	Disturbances among state-owned serfs in a number of gubernias following the Kiselyov reform
1842-1845	Peasant disturbances in the Baltic provinces
1842	Edict on bound peasants
1843	First Agricultural Exhibition in Russia
1845-1849	Petrashovsky's circle in St. Petersburg
1848-1849	Bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Western Europe
1849	Sormovo Works founded
1851	Opening of Nikolayevskaya (now Oktyabrskaya) Railway between St. Petersburg and Moscow
1853	Free Russian Press organized by Herzen starts work in London
1853	General Perovsky's Kokand campaign
1853-1856	Crimean (Eastern) War
1853, Nov. 18 (30)	Victory of Russian fleet under Admiral Nakhimov over the Turks at Sinop
1854, Sept.- 1855, Aug.	Heroic defence of Sevastopol
1855-1881	Reign of Alexander II
1855	Peasant rebellion in Kiev Gubernia
1856, Mar. 18 (30)]	The Peace of Paris
1857-1867	Publication of Herzen's <i>Kolokol</i> (<i>The Bell</i>)

1857	Alexander II publishes Decree (Rescript) on opening of gubernia committees to prepare "peasant reform"
1858	Aigun and Tientsin treaties between Russia and China
1859-1861	Revolutionary situation in Russia
1859	Peasant movement against the wine laws
1860	Foundation of the State Bank
1860, Nov. 2 (14)	Russo-Chinese Peking Protocol
1861, Feb. 19	Peasant Reform. Abolition of serfdom. Russia enters the period of capitalism
1861	Peasant rebellions at Bezdna village in Kazan Gubernia and at Kandeyevka and Chernogai in Penza Gubernia on account of the reform of 1861
1861	Proclamations issued "To the Russians," "To the Younger Generation," "To Landlords' Peasants," "To Soldiers"
1861	Student disturbances in St. Petersburg, Moscow and other Russian towns
1862, May	Zaichnevsky's proclamation "Young Russia"
1862-1864	Secret revolutionary society Land and Freedom
1863-1864	Insurrection in Poland, Lithuania and Byelorussia
1863	Obukhov Works founded in St. Petersburg
1863	The Kazan Conspiracy: an attempt by Russian and Polish revolutionaries to raise a peasant rebellion in Kazan Gubernia
1863-1866	Ishutin's revolutionary circle in St. Petersburg
1863, Jun. 18	University Reform. New University Regulations
1863, Jun. 26	Instructions for the allotment of land to peasants on the royal estates
1863	Foundation of the Kolomna Engineering Works (now Diesel Locomotive Works)
1864, Jan. 1	Reform of the lands
1864	Judicial reform (court regulations)
1864	School reform. Instruction for primary schools; new regulations for secondary schools
1864-1885	Conquest of Central Asia
1865, Apr. 6	Censorship reform (Temporary Rules for the Press)
1866, Apr. 4	Karakozov's attempt on the life of Alexander II
1866	Law on the provision of land for state-owned peasants
1867	Tsarist government sells Alaska and Aleutian Islands to the United States of America
1867	Governor-generalship of Turkestan formed

1868	Temporary Instructions for the Government of the Steppe Regions dividing Kazakhstan into regions under Russian administration
1870	Urban reform (Urban Instructions)
1870	Formation of the Russian Section of the 1st International
1870, Apr. 10 (22)	Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (Ulyanov) in the town of Simbirsk
1870, May	Strike at the Neva Cotton Spinnery in St. Petersburg
1871	London Convention. Abolition of the articles of the Paris Protocol of 1856 prohibiting Russia from maintaining a fleet in the Black Sea
1872	Strike at Krenholm (near Narva)
1872	Publication of Volume I of Marx's <i>Capital</i> in Russian translation
1873	Alliance of Three Emperors (Russian-Austrian-German agreement)
1873	Anglo-Russian agreement on the division of Central Asia into spheres of influence
1873	Khiva campaign. Peace Treaty with Khiva. Khiva becomes vassal of Russia
1873-1877	Industrial crisis and depression in Russia
1870 and following years	Narodniks "go among the people"
1874	Army reforms in Russia. Introduction of universal conscription
1875	South Russian Workers' Union functions in Odessa
1875	Russo-Japanese Treaty recognizing Russian ownership of the Island of Sakhalin. Kuril Islands transferred to Japan
1875	Khanate of Kokand annexed to Russia
1876	Organization of the Narodnik Land and Freedom society (known as the Northern Revolutionary-Narodnik Group until 1878)
1876, Dec. 6	Demonstration on Kazan Cathedral Square in St. Petersburg. Speech by G. Plekhanov
1877, Feb. 21 to Mar. 14	"Trial of the Fifty." Speech by revolutionary worker Pyotr Alexeyev
1877-1878	Russo-Turkish War. San Stefano Treaty, 1878
1877, Oct. 18, to 1878, Jan. 23	"Trial of the 193." Speech by I. Myshkin

1878	Attempt on life of F. Trepov, Mayor of St. Petersburg, and trial of Vera Zasulich
1878-1880	Northern Union of Russian Workers in St. Petersburg
1878-1879	Mass strikes in St. Petersburg. Strikes at New Cotton Spinnery
1879	Attempt on life of Alexander II by Narodnik A. Solovyov
1879	Land and Freedom Society splits into People's Will and Black Redistribution societies
1879-1880	Revolutionary situation in Russia
1880, Feb. 5	Attempt on life of Alexander II by S. Khalturin (bomb explosion in the Winter Palace, St. Petersburg)
1880, Feb.-Aug.	Supreme Regulating Commission headed by M. Loris-Melikov
1880-1896	Main line of Transcaspian Railway built
1880-1881	Second Akhal-Tekin Expedition (General Skobelev). Capture of Geok-Tepe (Jan. 12, 1881)
1881, Mar. 1	Alexander II assassinated by members of People's Will Society
1881-1894	Reign of Alexander III
1881	Commercial working of Krivoi Rog iron mines begins
1881	St. Petersburg Treaty between Russia and China on Ili region
1881, Aug. 14	Reactionary "Instructions for the Maintenance of Order and Public Tranquility in the State"
1881, Dec. 28	Law annulling temporary obligations of peasants to landowners (from Jan. 1, 1883)
1882-1886	Industrial crisis
1882	Foundation of Peasants' Land Bank
1882, Jun. 1	Beginning of factory legislation in Russia. Law restricting juvenile labour in industrial establishments. Factory inspection instituted
1882, Aug. 27	"Temporary Rules" for the press—Introduction of "punitive censorship"
1882	All-Russian Exhibition in Moscow
1883	G. Plekhanov organizes Marxist Emancipation of Labour group in Geneva
1883-1884 (winter)	Foundation of D. Blagoyev's Social-Democratic group (Party of Russian Social-Democrats)
1883	Opening of Moscow History Museum (founded 1873)
1884, Aug. 23	Reactionary university regulations; abolition of university autonomy
1885, January.	Strike at Morozov Mills at Orekhovo-Zuyevo
1885	Foundation of the Land Bank of the Nobility

1885	Law limiting night work for women and adolescents
1885-1888	P. Tochisky's circle in St. Petersburg (Society of St. Petersburg Workmen)
1885, Aug. 29 (Sept. 10)	Agreement with Great Britain on Russo-Afghan frontier
1886, Jun. 3	Law on fines
1886	Decree on Hiring of Farm Workers
1887, Mar. 1	Attempt on life of Alexander III (A. Ulyanov, P. Sheviryov and others)
1887, Jun. 6 (18)	Treaty between Russia and Germany on neutrality (known as the "insurance treaty")
1888-1889	N. Y. Fedoseyev's circle in Kazan in which Lenin participated
1888-1892	M. Brusnev's Social-Democratic organization in St. Petersburg
1889, Mar.	Murder of political exiles in Yakutsk (Yakutsk tragedy)
1889	Rights of court jurors restricted
1889	Decree on institution of rural governors
1889	The Kara tragedy (mass suicides of political prisoners in the Kara Penal Prison)
1890, Feb.-Mar.	Student disturbances
1890	New decree on rural institutions (rural counter-reform)
1891	Construction of Great Transsiberian Railway begins
1891, Apr. 15	Demonstration at funeral of N. Shelgunov in St. Petersburg
1891	First May Day rally in St. Petersburg
1891-1892	Famine in 21 gubernias of European Russia
1892	New decree on urban institutions (urban counter-reform)
1892, Aug. 5 (17)	Franco-Russian Military Convention
1892	Disturbances in Tashkent (cholera riots)
1892	Strike at Lodz Textile Mills. Workers shot down
1893, Jul. 8	Law restricting redivision of land
1893, Dec. 14	Law making peasant holdings inalienable
1893	Formation of Franco-Russian Alliance
1893	Introduction of state wine monopoly
1893	Formation of Marxist circle in Samara with Lenin participating

1893-1894	Tariff war between Russia and Germany
1893-1895	Lenin's revolutionary work in St. Petersburg Marxist circles
1893-1899	Industrial boom in Russia
1894	Foundation of Moscow Workers' Union
1894	Multigraphed edition of Lenin's book <i>What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats</i>
1895	Lenin organizes in Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class
1895, December	Arrest of V. I. Lenin and other members of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class
1896, May 18	Catastrophe at Khodinskoye Polye in Moscow during coronation festivities of Nicholas II
1896, May 22 (Jun. 3)	Treaty concluded between Russia and China on a defensive alliance against Japan and on the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway
1896, May-Jun.	General strike of St. Petersburg textile workers
1896, Jul. 15-20	Delegation from Russian workers at International Socialist Congress in London
1896	All-Russian Industrial and Art Exhibition at Nizhny Novgorod
1896	First All-Russian Commercial and Industrial Congress at Nizhny Novgorod
1896-1897	Big strikes in St. Petersburg, Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Yekaterinoslav and other Russian towns
1896-1899	Lenin writes his <i>Development of Capitalism in Russia</i> (published 1899)
1897, Jan. 3	Law on the Circulation of Gold Currency (Witte's currency reform)
1897	First All-Russian Census
1897, Jun. 2	Law restricting factory working day to 11 1/2 hours
1897	Lenin exiled to the village of Shushenskoye in Siberia
1898, Mar. 1-3 (13-15)	First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (R.S.D.L.P.) in Minsk
1898, Mar.	Russo-Chinese Convention on renting of Port Arthur and Dalny (Dalren)
1899, Feb. 8	First all-Russian students' strike
1899, Jul. 29	"Provisional Rules" sanctioning enlistment of students as soldiers for participation in "disturbances"
1900-1903	Lenin's newspaper <i>Iskra</i> (<i>The Spark</i>) published
1900-1903	Industrial crisis in Russia

1901, April	May Day demonstrations in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Tiflis and other towns
1901, May 7 1901-1902	Strike at Obukhov Works in St. Petersburg Student disturbances in university cities—Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Kharkov, etc.
1902	
Mar. 9	Mass political demonstration of workers in Batum
March	Lenin's book <i>What Is To Be Done?</i> published
March-April	Peasant disturbances in Poltava, Kharkov, Voronezh and other gubernias
Nov. 2-26	Strike of workers in Rostov-on-Don
1902	Foundation of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries (S.R.'s)
1903	
Jul. 1-14	General strike in Baku
Jul. 17 (30) Aug. 10 (23)	Second Congress of R. S. D. L. P. in Brussels and London. Formation of a Marxist Party. Programme and Rules adopted
Jul.-Aug.	General strike in South Russia
Autumn	Upsurge of peasant movement in the Caucasus and the Ukraine
1904	
Jan. 3-5	Foundation Congress and formation in St. Petersburg of the liberal-bourgeois group Union of Emancipation
Jan. 1904-Aug. 1905	Russo-Japanese War
Jan. 27 (Feb. 9)	Japanese attack Russian squadron at Port Arthur Heroic battle of Russian cruiser <i>Varyag</i> and gunboat <i>Koreysa</i> against Japanese squadron at Chemulpo
May	Publication of Lenin's book <i>One Step Forward, Two Steps Back</i>
Aug. 17-21 (Aug. 30-Sept. 3)	Battle of Liaoyang between Russian and Japanese armies
Dec. 13-31	Strike of Baku oil workers. Conclusion of first collective agreement in Russia
Dec. 20, 1904 (Jan. 2, 1905)	General Stessel surrenders Port Arthur
Dec. 1904-May 1905	Publication in Geneva of Bolshevik newspaper <i>Vperyod</i> (<i>Forward</i>) edited by Lenin
1905-1907	First Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution in Russia
1905	
Jan. 3-18	Putilov Works' strike. General strike in St. Petersburg
Jan. 9	Bloody Sunday. St. Petersburg workers shot down while on their way to submit petition to tsar

Jan.-Feb.	Wave of strikes and demonstrations throughout the country
Feb. 6-25 (Feb. 19-Mar. 10)	Battle of Mukden between Russian and Japanese armies
Apr. 12-27 (Apr. 25-May 10)	Third Congress of R.S.D.L.P. in London
May 12-Jul. 23	Strike at Ivanovo-Voznesensk. Formation of one of the first Soviets of Workers' Deputies
May 14-15	Sea battle at Tsushima. Defeat of Admiral Rozhdestvensky's squadron
May 14 (27)	Publication of first issue of <i>Proletary</i> , central organ of R.S.D.L.P. in Geneva. Edited by Lenin
Jun. 14-24	Revolt on the <i>Potemkin</i>
Jun. 22-24	Armed uprising in Lodz
Jul. 31	Opening of the First (Constitutional) Congress of the All-Russian Peasant Union
July	Publication of Lenin's book <i>Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution</i>
Aug. 6	Publication of draft law on foundation of State Consultative Duma (the Bulygin Duma)
Aug. 23 (Sept. 5)	Peace of Portsmouth between Russia and Japan
Oct. 7	Beginning of All-Russian political strike
Oct. 13	First meeting of St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies
Oct. 17	Manifesto issued by Tsar Nicholas II promising political liberties and convocation of Duma with legislative powers
Oct. 20	Political demonstration in Moscow during funeral of Bolshevik N. Bauman, killed by reactionaries on October 18
October	Formation of Constitutional-Democratic Party (Cadets)
Oct.-Dec.	Soviets of Workers' Deputies set up in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Nizhny Novgorod, Odessa, Chita and other towns in Russia
Oct. 24-28	Armed revolt of soldiers and sailors in Kronstadt
Oct. 27 (Nov. 9)- Dec. 3 (16)	Publication in St. Petersburg of Bolshevik daily newspaper <i>Novaya zhizn</i> (<i>New Life</i>) edited by Lenin
Nov. 11-15	Sevastopol revolt headed by Lieutenant P. Schmidt
Nov. 21	First meeting of Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies
November	Formation of Octobrist Party—"Union of October Seventeen"
December	December armed uprising in Moscow, Novorossiisk, Chita, Perm, Kharkov, Gorlovka, Krasnoyarsk, Sor-movo and other towns

Dec. 12-17 (25-30)	First All-Russian Conference of R.S.D.L.P. in Tammerfors, Finland
Dec. 1905-Jan. 1906	Punitive expeditions of tsarist troops in Moscow area, Baltic districts and Siberia
1906	
Apr. 10-25 (Apr. 23-May 8)	Fourth (Unity) Congress of R.S.D.L.P. in Stockholm
Apr. 23	Publication of "basic laws" of Russian Empire
Apr. 27.-Jul. 8	First State Duma
Jul. 17-20	Sveaborg revolt of sailors and soldiers
Jul. 19-20	Kronstadt revolt of sailors and soldiers
Jul. 20	Revolt of sailors on board cruiser <i>Pamyat Azova</i> at Reval
Aug. 19	Tsarist government introduces summary courts martial to fight against revolutionary movement
Aug. 21 (Sept. 3)- Nov. 28	Publication (until Nov. 28 [Dec. 11], 1909) of illegal Bolshevik newspaper <i>Proletary</i> (in Finland, Switzerland and France)
	Decree of tsarist government on removal of peasants from communes to isolated farms. Beginning of Stolypin agrarian reforms
1907	
Feb. 20-Jun. 2	Second State Duma
Apr. 30-May 19 (May 13-Jun. 1)	Fifth Congress of R.S.D.L.P. in London
June 3	Coup d'état of June 3. New election law
August	Agreement between Russia and Britain on division of Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet into spheres of influence. Final form given to alliance of Britain, Russia and France (Triple Entente)
Nov. 1, 1907-Jun. 9, 1912	Third State Duma
1909	
April-May	Publication of Lenin's book <i>Materialism and Empirio-Criticism</i>
1910	
Jun. 14	Law passed by Third State Duma confirming Edict of Nov. 9, 1906
Dec. 16 (29)	Publication in St. Petersburg of first issue of Bolshevik legal newspaper <i>Zvezda</i> (<i>Star</i>)
1910	Foundation of Russo-Asiatic Bank
26—2944	401

1911	
May 29	Law on reorganization of lands belonging to tsar's family
Aug. 6	Potsdam Agreement between Russia and Germany on Persian question
1912	
Apr. 4	Workers at Lena gold-fields shot down by tsarist troops
Apr. 22 (May 5)	First issue of Bolshevik newspaper <i>Pravda</i> published
April	May Day strikes throughout country
July	Revolt of soldiers (sappers) at Tashkent
Nov. 15, 1912-Feb. 25, 1917	Fourth State Duma
1914	
May	Beginning of general strike of Baku workers
July	Strikes at Putilov Works in St. Petersburg and in other towns
Jul. 18(31)	German ultimatum to Russia
Jul. 19 (Aug. 1)	Germany declares war on Russia
1914-1918	First World War
Aug. 17-Sept. 15	East-Prussian operation;
Sept.-Nov.	Warsaw-Ivangorod operation against German army
Oct. 16-17 (29-30)	Attack by Turkish fleet and German naval vessels on Russian Black Sea coast; Russia declares war on Turkey, Oct. 19 (Nov. 2)
Nov. 1	Publication of Manifesto of Central Committee of R.S.D.L.P. on imperialist war (written by Lenin)
Nov.	Lodz operation on Russo-German front
1915	
May-June	Defeat of Russian troops in Galicia
May-July	Formation of War-Industry Committees and the All-Russian Rural and Urban Alliance (Zemgor)
Aug. 23-26 (Sept. 5-8)	Zimmerwald Conference of internationalists in which Lenin participated
Sept.-Dec.	Election of "workers' groups" attached to War-Industrial Committees. Elections boycotted by workers under leadership of Bolsheviks
1916	
Jan.-Jun.	Lenin works on his book <i>Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism</i> (published in 1917)
Apr. 11-17 (24-30)	Conference of internationalists at Kienthal convened on the initiative of Lenin
May 22-Jul. 31	Offensive on Russian South-Western Front. Break through at Lutsk

Summer & autumn Anti-feudal and anti-imperialist uprising in Central Asia and Kazakhstan

1917

- Jan. 9 Political strikes under leadership of Bolsheviks in Petrograd, Moscow, Baku, Nizhny Novgorod and other Russian towns. Anti-war demonstrations and meetings
- Feb. 18
(Mar. 3) Strike of Putilov workers in Petrograd begins
- Feb. 23
(Mar. 8) Demonstration of Petrograd women workers at the call of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party against hunger, war and tsarism, supported by strike of men workers (International Working Women's Day)
- Feb. 25 (Mar. 10) General strike of Petrograd workers. Universal demonstrations and clashes with police. Five members of Petrograd Bolshevik Committee arrested
- Feb. 26 (Mar. 11) Nicholas II issues decree dissolving State Duma
- Feb. 27 (Mar. 12) February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. Soldiers of Petrograd garrison go over to side of insurrection *en masse*. Formation of Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Overthrow of the autocracy in Russia. Formation of Provisional Committee of State Duma members headed by Rodzyanko
- Mar. 2(15) Formation of Bourgeois Provisional Government under chairmanship of Prince Lvov. Abdication of Tsar Nicholas II
- Mar. 5 (18)
March Publication of *Pravda* renewed
Formation of Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies
- Apr. 3 (16) Lenin returns to Petrograd from exile; Lenin's speech on Finland Station Square
- Apr. 4 (17) Lenin's report on *The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution (April Theses)* at a meeting of Bolshevik members of the All-Russian Conference of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies
- Apr. 15 (28) Publication of first issue of Bolshevik newspaper *Soldatskaya Pravda (Soldiers' Truth)*
- Apr. 18 (May 1) Note sent by Minister of Foreign Affairs of Provisional Government, P. Milyukov, to governments of allied countries on "war to victory"
- Apr. 20-21 (May 3-4) Workers' and soldiers' demonstration in Petrograd demanding the resignation of Milyukov; first crisis of bourgeois Provisional Government
- Apr. 24-29
(May 7-12) Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in Petrograd

April	Organization of Red Guard begun
May 4 (17)	Opening of All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies in Petrograd
May 5 (18)	Formation of first coalition Provisional Government under chairmanship of Prince Lvov
Jun. 3-24 (Jun. 16-Jul. 7)	First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd; Lenin speaks on the attitude to the Provisional Government and to the war
Jun. 16-23 (Jun. 29-Jul. 6)	All-Russian Conference of front and home military Bolshevik organizations in Petrograd
Jun. 18 (Jul. 1)	Offensive launched on South-Western Front. Mass anti-war workers' demonstrations in Petrograd, Moscow and other towns under Bolshevik slogans of transfer of power to the Soviets
Jul. 3-4 (16-17)	Spontaneous workers' demonstration in Petrograd with army units and sailors participating in favour of slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" Demonstration fired on. End of dual power
Jul. 5 (18)	Beginning of government persecution of Bolsheviks; Party becomes semi-legal organization
Jul. 7 (20)	Provisional Government orders arrest of Lenin
Jul. 12 (25)	Provisional Government re-introduces death penalty at front
Jul. 24 (Aug. 6)	Formation of second coalition Provisional Government under chairmanship of A. F. Kerensky
Jul. 26-Aug. 3 (Aug. 8-16)	Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in Petrograd directing the Communist Party and the working class to armed insurrection
Aug. 12-15 (25-28)	"State Conference" of counter-revolutionary forces in Moscow
Aug. 12 (25)	General strike in Moscow (400,000 participants)
Aug. 21 (Sept. 3)	General Kornilov treacherously surrenders Riga to German forces
Aug. 25 (Sept. 7)	Kornilov's counter-revolutionary revolt begins. Kornilov moves his troops on Petrograd
Aug. 26 (Sept. 8)	Central Committee of Bolshevik Party calls for resistance to Kornilov
Aug. 30 (Sept. 12)	Lenin's letter to Central Committee of the Party on tactics to counter Kornilov's conspiracy; Kornilov's revolt crushed by revolutionary people under leadership of Bolshevik Party
Aug. 31 (Sept. 13)	Petrograd Soviet goes over to the Bolsheviks
Aug.-Sept.	Lenin writes his book <i>State and Revolution</i> (published in 1918)
Sept. 1 (14)	Organization of the Directory headed by Kerensky; Russia declared a republic

Sept. 5 (18)	Moscow Soviet goes over to the Bolsheviks
Sept. 14-22 (Sept. 27-Oct. 5)	"Democratic Conference" in Petrograd; organization of Pre-Parliament decided
Sept. 25 (Oct. 8)	Formation of third coalition Provisional Government headed by Kerensky
Oct. 1-2 (14-15)	Lenin's appeal to "Workers, Peasants and Soldiers" to overthrow the Kerensky Government and transfer power to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasant Deputies
Oct. 7 (20)	Lenin arrives illegally in Petrograd from Vyborg
Oct. 9 (22)	Meeting of many thousands of Obukhov workers demanding overthrow of bourgeois Provisional Government and transfer of all power to the Soviets
Oct. 10 (23)	Meeting of Central Committee of Bolshevik Party adopts Lenin's resolution placing the armed uprising on the order of the day. Formation of Political Bureau for guidance of preparations for armed uprising headed by Lenin
Oct. 11-13 (24-26)	Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region in Petrograd
Oct. 12 (25)	Formation of Military Revolutionary Committee, headquarters of armed insurrection, in Petrograd
Oct. 16 (29)	Extended meeting of Central Committee of Bolshevik Party passing Lenin's resolution on preparation of armed uprising. Election of Party's practical military centre to lead the uprising
Oct. 24-25 (Nov. 6-7)	Armed uprising of workers, soldiers and sailors in Petrograd
Oct. 25 (Nov. 7)	Victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and establishment of Soviet power in Petrograd. Manifesto of Military Revolutionary Committee "To the Citizens of Russia"
Oct. 25-26 (Nov. 7-8)	Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Smolny Institute in Petrograd. Adoption of Decrees on Land and on Peace. Formation of first Soviet Government—Council of People's Commissars, with Lenin as Chairman; election of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee
Oct. 25-Nov. 3 (Nov. 7-16)	Moscow armed uprising of workers and soldiers. Establishment of Soviet power in Moscow
Oct. 25 (Nov. 7)	Beginning of Ataman Kaledin's counter-revolutionary offensive on the Don
Oct. 26 (Nov. 8)	Arrest of Provisional Government in Winter Palace, Petrograd
Oct. 25-27 (Nov. 7-9)	Establishment of Soviet power in Minsk, Kronstadt, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Lugansk, Kazan, Rostov-on-Don, Yekaterinburg, Reval, Samara, Saratov and other towns

Oct. 29 (Nov. 11)	Decree on 8-hour working day adopted by Council of People's Commissars. Suppression of cadet revolt in Petrograd, organized by counter-revolutionary "Committee To Save the Country and the Revolution"
Oct. 31 (Nov. 13)	Establishment of Soviet power in Baku
Nov. 1 (14)	Establishment of Soviet power in Tashkent Suppression of counter-revolutionary offensive of Krasnov-Kerensky against Petrograd
Nov. 2 (15)	Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia (adopted by Council of People's Commissars [C.P.C.])
Nov. 8 (21)	Yakov Sverdlov elected Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (A. C. E. C.)
Nov. 10 (23)	Decree by A.C.E.C. abolishing social estates and civil ranks
Nov. 10-25 (Nov. 23-Dec. 8)	Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Peasant Deputies in Petrograd
Nov. 14 (27)	A.C.E.C. issues instructions on workers' control
Nov. 18 (Dec. 1)	Establishment of Soviet power in Vladivostok
Nov. 20 (Dec. 3)	Abolition of counter-revolutionary H. Q. of old army in Mogilev Opening of Brest-Litovsk negotiations on an armistice between Soviet Republic and countries of German bloc Appeal issued by C.P.C. to "All Working Moslems of Russia and the East"
Nov. 22 (Dec. 5)	Decree by C.P.C. on organization of courts by democratic elections and instituting revolutionary tribunals
Dec. 2 (15)	Decree by A.C.E.C. and C.P.C. on organization of Supreme Economic Council (S. E. C.)
Dec. 7 (20)	Decision of C.P.C. on organization of All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Struggle against Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (Cheka) headed by Felix Dzerzhinsky
Dec. 11 (24)	First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in Kharkov. Formation of Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Election of first Ukrainian Soviet Government
Dec. 12-20 (Dec. 25, 1917-Jan. 2, 1918)	Third Far-Eastern Territorial Congress of Soviets in Khabarovsk; declaration of Soviet power throughout Far-Eastern territory
Dec. 14 (27)	Decree by A.C.E.C. on the nationalization of the banks
Dec. 16 (29)	Decree by C.P.C. on the democratization of the army
Dec. 18 (31)	Decree by C.P.C. recognizing the state independence of Finland

1918

Jan. 5 (18)	Convocation of Constituent Assembly in Petrograd Decree by A.C.E.C. on dissolution of Constituent Assembly after its refusal to recognize Soviet power and approve the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land
Jan. 6 (19)	
Jan. 10-18 (23-31)	Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasant Deputies in Petrograd. Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People adopted
Jan. 15 (28)	Decree by C.P.C. on organization of Workers' and Peasants' Red Army
Jan. 21 (Feb. 3)	Decree by A.C.E.C. annulling state internal and foreign loans
Jan. 23 (Feb. 5)	Publication of Decree by C.P.C. separating the church from the state and the school from the church
Jan. 26 (Feb. 8)	Publication of C.P.C. Decree introducing Gregorian calendar with effect from Feb. 14, 1918 Soviet power established in Kiev
January	Bessarabia occupied by Rumania
Jan.-Feb.	Suppression of Kaledin's counter-revolutionary revolt on Don
Feb. 14	Publication of Decree by C.P.C. on demobilization of tsarist navy and organization of Workers' and Peasants' Red Navy
Feb. 18	Germans launch offensive against Soviet Russia
Feb. 19	Decree by A.C.E.C. on "Socialization of the Land"
Feb. 21	Manifesto by C.P.C. "The Socialist Fatherland Is in Danger"
Feb. 23	Red Army Day
Feb. 25-Apr. 24	Heroic transfer of Soviet naval and merchant vessels from Reval (Tallinn) and Helsingfors (Helsinki) to Kronstadt ("Ice Voyage")
Mar. 1	German troops occupy Kiev; re-establishment of counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Central Council (Rada)
Mar. 3	Conclusion of Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty between R.S.F.S.R., on the one part, and Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria on the other
Mar. 6-8	Seventh Congress of Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in Petrograd; adoption of decision to rename R.S.D.L.P.(B.) as R.C.P. (B.)
Mar. 9	Entente lands troops at Murmansk
Mar. 10-11	Transfer of Soviet Government headed by Lenin from Petrograd to Moscow which then became capital of Soviet Republic
Mar. 14-16	Extraordinary Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow; ratification of Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty

March	Declaration of Soviet power in North Caucasus by Second Congress of the Peoples of Terek at Pyatigorsk
Apr. 5	Japanese troops land at Vladivostok
Apr. 22	Decree by A.C.E.C. on obligatory universal military training for all workers and toiling peasants between 18 and 40 years of age Decree by C.P.C. on nationalization of foreign trade
Apr. 26-Jul. 2	Heroic march of army group commanded by K. Voroshilov from Lugansk to Tsaritsyn (the Voroshilov march)
Apr. 28	Publication of Lenin's article "The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Government"
Apr. 30	Formation of Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic at Fifth Congress (<i>Kurultai</i>) of the Soviets of Turkestan Territory held in Tashkent
May 2	Decree by C.P.C. on "Nationalization of the Sugar Industry" (first nationalization of a whole branch of industry)
May 8	German and White Cossack troops occupy Rostov-on-Don
May 9	Decree by A.C.E.C. granting special powers to the People's Commissar for Food to combat the rural bourgeoisie who were concealing grain supplies and using them for speculation Formation of the S.E.C. Committee of State Construction—the first organization directing building on a nation-wide scale
May 25	Opening of the First All-Russian Congress of Economic Councils Beginning of anti-Soviet revolt of Czechoslovak Corps
May 29	Decree by A.C.E.C. on general mobilization into Workers' and Peasants' Red Army
Jun. 1	Decree by C. P. C. on "Reorganization and Centralization of Public Records"
Jun. 8	Czechoslovak White forces occupy Samara; White Guard-S.R. government set up in Samara—Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly (established June 6, 1918)
Jun. 11	Decree by A.C.E.C. on the organization of Committees of the Village Poor
Jun. 20	Decree by C.P.C. on the nationalization of the oil industry
Jun. 28	Decree by C.P.C. on nationalization of all big industries and railway enterprises
Jun. 29	Czechoslovak White forces occupy Vladivostok and White Guard Provisional Government of Autonomous Siberia established

Jul. 4-10	Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow; Constitution of R.S.F.S.R., first Soviet constitution, adopted
Jul. 6-7	Suppression of counter-revolutionary revolt of "Left" S.R.'s in Moscow
Jul. 17	Former Tsar Nicholas II and his family executed in Yekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk)
Jul. 20	Decree by C.P.C. on Home Army (mobilizing all non-working elements of the population for work in the hinterland)
Jul. 21	Soviet troops suppress White Guard revolt in Yaroslavl
Jul. 22	Decree by C.P.C. on speculation
Jul. 1918-Jun. 1919	Heroic defence of Tsaritsyn against White Guard forces
Aug. 2	Entente troops land in Arkhangelsk; organization, with aid of interventionists, of White Guard Provisional Government of the Northern Region
Aug. 4	Decree by C.P.C. prohibiting all bourgeois newspapers British interventionists occupy Baku
Aug. 15-16	American intervention in Vladivostok
Aug. 26-Sept. 17	Heroic march of Taman Army from Taman Peninsula, through Tuapse to Armavir
Aug. 30	S. R.'s make attempt on life of Lenin after meeting at former Michelson Factory in Moscow
Sept. 4	Decree by C.P.C. on abolition of private railways
Sept. 10	Decree by C.P.C. on introduction of international system of metric weights and measures
Sept. 15	Turkish interventionists seize Baku
Sept. 16	Institution of Military Order of the Red Banner of R.S.F.S.R.
Sept. 20	British interventionists shoot 26 Baku commissars
Oct. 10	Decree by C.P.C. introducing new orthography
Oct. 16	Decree by A.C.E.C. organizing uniform workers' schools
Oct. 29-Nov. 4	First All-Russian Congress of Young Communist League in Moscow
Oct. 31	Decree by C.P.C. on social insurance of working people
Nov. 2	Publication of decree by A.C.E.C. on a single extraordinary revolutionary tax of 10,000 million rubles
Nov. 6-9	Extraordinary Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets
Nov. 13	A.C.E.C. passes resolution denouncing Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty
Nov. 18	In Siberia counter-revolutionary dictatorship of Admiral Kolchak, agent of Entente, established

Nov. 21	Decree by C.P.C. on the organization of the supply to the public of all food items and articles of personal and domestic use
Nov. 29	Manifesto of Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine on overthrow of the Hetman and re-establishment of Soviet power in the Ukraine Establishment at Narva of Estland Labour Commune (Estonian S.S.R.)
Nov. 30	Decision taken by A.C.E.C. to set up Workers' and Peasants' Defence Council headed by Lenin
November	British and French warships arrive in Odessa; beginning of Anglo-French intervention in South Russia
Nov.-Dec.	Austro-German army of occupation driven from Soviet territory by the Red Army and partisan detachments
Dec. 2	Decree on liquidation of foreign banks
Dec. 10	Red Army liberates Minsk from German interventionists A.C.E.C. approves Code of Labour Laws
Dec. 11-20	First All-Russian Congress of Land Departments, Committees of the Village Poor and Communes
Dec. 16	Soviet power established in Lithuania
Dec. 17	Soviet power established in Latvia
1919	
Jan. 1	Formation of Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
Jan. 3	Red Army liberates Riga from German intervention
Jan. 11	Decree by C.P.C. on appropriation of food surpluses
Feb. 2-28	Formation of Lithuanian-Byelorussian Soviet Republic (Litbyel)
Feb. 11	Beginning of operations of Polish White Guards against Soviet Russia; Polish troops occupy Brest-Litovsk
Feb. 14	Publication of decree, approved by A.C.E.C., on Socialist Rural Organization and Measures for the Transition to Socialist Farming
Mar. 2-6	First Congress of the Communist International in Moscow
March-July	Defeat of the first Entente campaign against Soviet Republic
Mar. 18-23	Eighth Congress of R.C.P.(B.) in Moscow; adoption of new Party programme
Mar. 23	Formation of Bashkirian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Mar. 30	Mikhail Kalinin elected Chairman of the A.C.E.C.
Apr. 6	Red Army liberates Odessa from Anglo-French intervention and White Guards
Apr. 12	First communist <i>subbotnik</i> at Moscow Marshalling Yards
Apr. 28	Striking force on Eastern Front, commanded by M. Frunze, launches counter-offensive

May 10	First mass communist <i>subbotnik</i> on Moscow-Kazan Railway
Jun. 13-16	Suppression of White Guard revolt at the Red Hill (Krasnaya Gorka) Fort
June	Tripolye Tragedy: White Guards brutally torture Kom-somol members at Tripolye, Ukraine
Jul. 6	Establishment of diplomatic relations between the R.S.F.S.R. and Afghanistan
Jul. 9	Message addressed by Central Committee of R.C.P.(B.) to all Party organizations—"All Out for the Fight Against Denikin!"
Jul. 1919-Mar. 1920	Defeat of second Entente campaign
Oct. 10, 1919	Supreme Council of the Entente decides on economic blockade of Soviet Russia
Oct.-Nov.	Rout of Yudenich's White Guard Corps outside Petrograd
Nov. 14	Red Army troops liberate Omsk from Kolchak's army
Dec. 3-5	First All-Russian Congress of Land Communes and Agricultural Co-operatives
Dec. 5-9	Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets
Dec. 16	Red Army liberates Kiev from Denikin's forces
Dec. 26	Decree by C.P.C. on overcoming illiteracy in Soviet Russia
1920	
Jan. 15	Decision passed by Council of Defence on First Revolutionary Army of Labour
Jan. 29	Decree by C.P.C. on universal obligatory labour
January	Re-establishment of Soviet power in Siberia Interventionists withdraw blockade of Russia
Feb. 2	Peace Treaty between R.S.F.S.R. and Estonia signed at Yuryev (Tartu)
Feb. 21	Red Army liberates Arkhangelsk from interventionists and White Guards
February	Red Army liberates the Ukraine from Denikin's White Army
Mar. 13	Red Army liberates Murmansk from Whites. Northern Front abolished
Mar. 23	C.P.C. approves State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO)
Mar. 27	Red Army liberates Novorossiisk from Whites
Mar. 29-Apr. 5	Ninth Congress of R.C.P.(B.)
Apr. 6	Formation of Far-Eastern Republic
Apr. 25-Oct. 18	Polish-Soviet War (Peace Treaty signed on March 18, 1921)
Apr. 26	Khorezm People's Soviet Republic proclaimed

Apr. 28	Red Army liberates Baku from Whites
Apr. 28	Formation of Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic
Apr. 30	Decision of C.P.C. of the R.S.F.S.R. on mineral resources and on redivision of the land
April	Occupation of Northern Sakhalin by Japanese imperialists
	Council of Defence re-formed as Council of Labour and Defence
Apr.-Nov.	Defeat of third Entente campaign
May 1	All-Russian May Day <i>subbotnik</i>
May 27	Formation of Tatar A.S.S.R.
Jun. 8	Formation of Karelian Labour Commune
Jun. 12	Red Army liberates Kiev from Polish White Army
Jun. 24	Formation of Chuvash Autonomous Region
June	Publication of Lenin's book <i>"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder</i>
	Anglo-Russian Co-operative Society (Arcos) formed in Great Britain
Jul. 11	Red Army liberates Minsk from Polish White Army
Jul. 12	Conclusion of Peace Treaty between R.S.F.S.R. and Lithuania
Jul. 19	Establishment of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Abolition of Illiteracy
Jul. 19-Aug. 7	Second Congress of the Communist International
Aug. 11	Conclusion of Peace Treaty between R.S.F.S.R. and Latvia
Aug. 26	Formation of Kirghiz A.S.S.R. (from Dec. 5, 1936—Kazakh S.S.R.)
Sept. 13	Treaty of Alliance and economic agreement between R.S.F.S.R. and Khorezm People's Soviet Republic
Sept. 14	Formation of Bokhara People's Soviet Republic
Sept. 30	Treaty of Alliance between R.S.F.S.R. and Azerbaijan S.S.R.
Oct. 2	Lenin's speech at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League—"Tasks of the Youth Leagues"
Oct. 14	Conclusion of Peace Treaty between R.S.F.S.R. and Finland
Nov. 4	Decree by A.C.E.C. and C.P.C. on formation of Autonomous Region of the Votyak (Udmurt) People, Autonomous Region of the Mari People and Kalmyk Autonomous Region
Nov. 7-11	Red Army storms Perekop
Nov. 16	Red Army occupies Kerch. Liberation of the Crimea completed

Nov. 29	Formation of Armenian S.S.R. S.E.C. adopts decision on "Nationalization of Enterprises" (with more than five workers if mechanical power is employed and with more than 10 workers without mechanical power)
Dec. 22-29	Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow; GOELRO plan adopted; institution of the Order of the Red Banner of Labour
Dec. 28	Workers' and Peasants' Treaty of Alliance between R.S.F.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.
1920	Soviet trade delegations established in Estonia, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, Lithuania, Turkey, Italy, Persia and Austria
<i>1921</i>	
Jan. 16	Workers' and Peasants' Treaty of Alliance between R.S.F.S.R. and Byelorussia on a military and economic union
Jan. 20	Formation of Daghestan A.S.S.R. and Gorskaya A.S.S.R.
Feb. 11	Decree by C.P.C. on the "Foundation of Institutes To Train Red Professors"
Feb. 22	Foundation of the State Planning Committee .
Feb. 25	Formation of Georgian S.S.R.
Feb. 26	Conclusion of Treaty between R.S.F.S.R. and Persia on the establishment of friendly relations
Feb. 28	Conclusion, in Moscow, of Soviet-Afghan Treaty establishing friendly relations Decree by C.P.C. on "Single Building Plan for the Republic"
Feb. 28-Mar. 18	White Guard rebellion at Kronstadt—suppressed by Red Army units assisted by the delegates to the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)
Mar. 4	Treaty of Alliance and economic agreement between R.S.F.S.R. and Bokhara People's Soviet Republic Formation of Abkhazian A.S.S.R.
Mar. 8-16	Tenth Congress of R.C.P.(B.) that adopted decision to introduce the New Economic Policy (NEP)
Mar. 16	Conclusion, in Moscow, of Treaty of Friendship and Fraternity between R.S.F.S.R. and Turkey Conclusion of provisional trade agreement between R.S.F.S.R and Great Britain
Mar. 18	Peace Treaty between R.S.F.S.R. and Poland signed in Riga
Mar. 21	Decree by A.C.E.C. abolishing appropriation of food surpluses and introducing a tax in kind for the peasants (beginning of NEP)

Mar. 28	Decree by C.P.C. on the Free Exchange, Purchase and Sale of Farm Produce in Gubernias That Have Completed Their Deliveries to the State
Apr. 7	Decree by C.P.C. on Consumers' Co-operatives
Apr. 21	Publication of Decree by C.P.C. on Tax in Kind on Grain, Potatoes and Oil-Seed
Apr. 29	Decision by Council of Labour and Defence on the Struggle against Drought
May 21	Workers' and Peasants' Treaty of Alliance between R.S.F.S.R. and Georgian S.S.R.
Jun. 16	Ajarian A.S.S.R. formed as constituent republic of Georgian S.S.R.
Jun. 22-Jul. 12	Third Congress of the Communist International
Jul. 7	Decree by A.C.E.C. and C.P.C. on Producers' Co-operatives
Jul. 18	Decision by Presidium of A.C.E.C. to form a Central Commission for Aid to the Famine Victims under the chairmanship of Mikhail Kalinin
Aug. 12	Decision of Council of Labour and Defence on Fundamental Measures To Restore Big Industries and Raise and Develop Production
Aug. 22	Formation of Komi Autonomous Region (Ziryan Region)
Aug. 26	Opening of Dairen (Dalny) Conference with the participation of the Far-Eastern Republic and Japan
Sept. 1	Formation of Kabardinian Autonomous Region
Sept. 26-Oct. 2	Week of Help for Volga famine victims
Sept. 30	Allied agreement between R.S.F.S.R. and Armenian S.S.R. on financial questions
Oct. 12	Publication of A.C.E.C. decision to establish the State Bank and adoption of the State Bank Regulations
Oct. 18	Formation of Crimean A.S.S.R.
Oct. 1921- Feb. 1922	Finnish White Guard intervention in Karelia
Dec. 23-28	Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets
1921	Conclusion of trade agreements with Germany, Norway, Austria and Italy
Jan. 9 1922	Formation of Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Region
Jan. 12	Formation of Karachai-Cherkess Autonomous Region
Feb. 12	Red Army and partisan units liberate Volochayevka from Japanese intervention
Mar. 2	Decision taken by Presidium of A.C.E.C. on a uniform tax in kind
Mar. 12	Formation of the Transcaucasian Federation

Mar. 27-Apr. 2	Eleventh Congress of R.C.P.(B.)
Apr. 10-May 19	Genoa Conference attended by Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, R.S.F.S.R., France and other countries
Apr. 16	Conclusion of Rapallo Treaty between R.S.F.S.R. and Germany establishing diplomatic relations
Apr. 27	Formation of Yakut A.S.S.R.
May 1	Opening of Kashira Power Station
May 22	Third Session of A.C.E.C. adopts the Law on Use of the Land by Working Peasants
Jun. 1	Formation of Oirot Autonomous Region (from Jan. 7, 1948, Gorny-Altai Autonomous Region)
Jun. 5	Establishment of trade and economic relations between R.S.F.S.R. and Czechoslovakia
Jun. 15-Jul. 19	Hague Conference with Britain, Belgium, R.S.F.S.R., Italy, Japan, France and other countries participating
Jul. 27	Formation of Cherkess (Adygei) Autonomous Region
Aug. 1	Nizhny Novgorod Fair opened
Sept. 8	Decree by C.P.C. on uniform currency circulation
Sept. 28	A.C.E.C. approves "Regulations for Central Commission To Overcome Consequences of the Famine"
Oct. 25	Red Army and partisans liberate Vladivostok from Japanese interventionists
Oct. 31	Decree by C.P.C. on issue of first state 6 per cent premium bonds for sum of 100 million rubles
Nov. 15	Decree by A.C.E.C. uniting Far-Eastern Republic and R.S.F.S.R.
Dec. 13	Formation of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (T.S.F.S.R.) Resolution passed by First Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets on formation of union state; declaration of the Seventh All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets on formation of union state
Dec. 18	Decision by Fourth All-Byelorussian Congress of Soviets on formation of union state
Dec. 23-27	Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Decision taken on formation of union state
Dec. 30	First Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R. held in Moscow; formation of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
1929	
Apr. 17-25	Twelfth Congress of R.C.P.(B.)
May 8-11	Curzon's ultimatum; threat of new intervention; reply by Soviet Government
May 10	Decision of C.E.C. and C.P.C. on uniform farm tax for 1923/24
May 30	Formation of Buryat-Mongolian A.S.S.R.

Jul. 6	C.E.C. adopts First Constitution of U.S.S.R.; decision of C.E.C. to establish Council of Labour and Defence of U.S.S.R.
Jul. 7	Decision of C.E.C. on Regulations Concerning Mineral Resources and Their Exploitation
Jul. 25	Formation of Karelian A.S.S.R.
Aug. 19	Opening of First Agricultural and Cottage Industries Exhibition of U.S.S.R. in Moscow
<i>1924</i>	
Jan. 21	Death of Vladimir Lenin, Chairman of Councils of People's Commissars of U.S.S.R. and of R.S.F.S.R., organizer of the Communist Party and founder of Soviet state
Jan. 26-Feb. 2	Second Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R.
Jan. 26	Decision of Second Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R. to rename Petrograd as Leningrad
Jan. 31	Second Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R. approves first Constitution of U.S.S.R.
Feb. 2	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Great Britain
Feb. 7	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Italy
Feb. 20	Formation of the Autonomous Region of the Volga Germans
Feb. 25	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Austria
Mar. 8	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Greece
Mar. 10	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Norway
Mar. 18	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Sweden
Mar. 19	Issue of first peasant premium bonds for 50 million rubles
May 23-31	Thirteenth Congress of R.C.P.(B)
May 31	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and China
Jun. 17-Jul. 8	Fifth Congress of Communist International
Jun. 18	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Denmark
July	Opening of Kizel Power Station in Urals
Jul. 7	Formation of North Ossetian Autonomous Region
Jul. 11	Organization of Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow
Jul. 12-18	Sixth Congress of Komsomol; name of Russian Young Communist League changed to Russian Leninist Young Communist League

Oct. 12	Formation of Moldavian A.S.S.R. as constituent Republic of Ukrainian S.S.R.
Oct. 14	Formation of Tajik A.S.S.R. as constituent republic of the Uzbek S.S.R.
Oct. 27	Formation of Turkmenian S.S.R. and Uzbek S.S.R.
Oct. 28	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and France
1924	Kazan-Sverdlovsk Railway completed Conclusion of trade agreements with Italy (Feb.) and Sweden (March) Joint-stock company Amtorg founded in U.S.A. (May)
1924-1925	Delineation of Central Asian frontiers on national principles
Jan. 2 1925	Formation of the Gorny Badakhshan Autonomous Region
Jan. 20	Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Japan on establishment of diplomatic relations and return of Northern Sakhalin to Soviet Union
Apr. 21	Formation of Chuvash A.S.S.R.
May 11	Formation of Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Region
May 13-20	Third Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R.
May 24	Publication of first issue of newspaper <i>Komsomolskaya Pravda</i>
Aug. 14	Decision of C.E.C. to issue state internal loan for economic rehabilitation for sum of 300 million rubles for four and a half years
Oct. 12	Soviet-German trade agreement signed
Dec. 6	Lenin Electric Power Station at Shatura opened
Dec. 17	Conclusion of Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality between U.S.S.R. and Turkey
Dec. 18-31	Fourteenth Congress of C.P.S.U.(B.)—line adopted on the socialist industrialization of the country
1925	Yaroslavl Automobile Plant produces first Soviet motor lorry Biggest potassium deposit in the world goes into exploitation at Solikamsk Shirak Irrigation Canal opened
Feb. 1 1926	Formation of Kirghiz A.S.S.R.
Apr. 24	Treaty on Neutrality and Non-Aggression concluded between U.S.S.R. and Germany
Jun. 11	Decision by C.E.C. and C.P.C. on a Regime of Economy
Aug. 31	Treaty on Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression concluded between U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan

Sept. 28	Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality concluded between U.S.S.R. and Lithuania
September	First shock workers' brigade formed at Leningrad Krasny Treugolnik Works
1926	Shterovka Power Station opened; Lenin Volkhov Hydroelectric Power Station opened; first mechanized glass works in U.S.S.R., Daghestan Lights, opened
1927	
January	Foundation of Society for Air and Chemical Defence of U.S.S.R.
Feb. 19	Decision of C.P.C. on situation in field of electrification and its prospects during coming five years
Apr. 18-26	Fourth Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R.; decision to elaborate First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy
May	Provocative raid by British police on Arcos offices in London; Great Britain breaks off trade and diplomatic relations with U.S.S.R.
Aug. 24	First industrialization loan floated-- 200 million rubles for ten years
Oct. 1	Treaty on Guarantees and Neutrality between U.S.S.R. and Persia
Oct. 15-20	Jubilee Session of C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R. in Leningrad; manifesto on gradual transition to seven-hour working day adopted
Oct. 21-23	Combined Plenary Meeting of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) and Central Control Commission adopting directives for the compilation of a five-year plan for the national economy
Dec. 2-19	Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—line adopted on the collectivization of agriculture
1927	Opening of railways—Petropavlovsk-Borovoye, Gorky-Kotel'nich, Dniepropetrovsk-Kharkov; opening of the Lenin Zemo-Avchala Hydroelectric Power Station; production of first coal-cutting machine, DL type (DL—Light Donets)
1928	
May 18-Jul. 5	Trial of Shakhty sabotage organization
Aug. 1	Decision of C.E.C. and C.P.C. to organize big state grain farms
Sept. 7	Decision of C.P.C. on measures to afford economic aid to the village poor
November	Foundation of first machine and tractor station in U.S.S.R. at Shevchenko State Farm in Ukraine
1928	Organization of Gigant State Grain Farm in Salsk Steppes, Rostov Region

Feb. 9	1929 Signing of Moscow Protocol on anticipatory introduction of the Kellogg-Briand Pact between U.S.S.R., Poland, Rumania, Latvia and Estonia
Mar. 5	<i>Pravda</i> publishes appeal by workers of Leningrad Krasny Vyborzhets Factory to all enterprises in U.S.S.R. to organize socialist emulation
Apr. 23-29	Sixteenth Conference of C.P.S.U.(B.); adoption of First Five-Year Plan; appeal to all working people to develop socialist emulation to fulfil five-year plan
May 9	Decision of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on organization of socialist emulation in factories
May 20-28	Fifth Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R.; Congress approved First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy as adopted by government
Jun. 5	Decision of the Council of Labour and Defence on the organization of machine and tractor stations (MTS)
Jun. 21	Decision by C.E.C. and C.P.C. on Measures To Strengthen Collective-Farm System
Jul. 3	Decision by C.P.C. on Measures to Ensure the Training of Engineers for the National Economy
Oct. 7	Decision by C.P.C. on Contracts for Farm Produce
Dec. 5	Formation of Tajik S.S.R.
	Decision of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Reorganization of Management in Industry
Dec. 5-10	First All-Union Congress of Shock Workers
1929	Conflict on Chinese Eastern Railway
1929-1932	First Five-Year Plan
1929-1931	Foundation of the town of Magnitogorsk in Urals
1929-1930	Transition from policy of restricting activities of kulaks to policy of abolishing them as a class on the basis of complete collectivization
1929-1934	Period of complete collectivization in agriculture
Jan. 5	1930 Decision of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on Rate of Collectivization and Measures of State Aid in Collective-Farms Organization
Jan. 10	Formation of Mordovian Autonomous Region
Jan. 30	Decision of C.E.C. of U.S.S.R. and C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. on Credit Reform
Feb. 1	Decision of C.E.C. and C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. on Measures To Promote the Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture in Areas Where Collectivization Is Completed and To Struggle Against the Kulaks
Mar. 1	Decision of C.E.C. and C.P.C. on Model Rules for the Agricultural Co-operative

Mar. 14	Decision of Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Struggle Against Distortions of the Party Line on the Collective-Farm Movement
Apr. 6	Decision of C.E.C. of U.S.S.R. to institute Order of Lenin and Order of the Red Star
May 1	Opening of Turkestan-Siberian (Turksib) Railway
May 15	Decision of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Work of Uralmet (tasks allotted in connection with establishment of second coal and metal base in the East)
May	Establishment of first shock brigades and first brigades to take in tow those lagging behind (at Artem Pit in the Donets Basin, the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works construction site and others)
Jun. 17	Opening of Stalingrad Tractor Plant
Jun. 26	Decision of Council of Labour and Defence on Communal Heating Systems and the Building of Heat and Power Stations
Jun. 26- Jul. 13	Sixteenth Congress of C.P.S.U.(B.), congress of the extended socialist offensive all along the front
Jul. 30	Appeal by workers of Marx Engineering Works in Leningrad to put forward counter-plans for production and finance
Aug. 14	Decision of C.E.C. and C.P.C. on Universal Obligatory Elementary Education
Oct. 20	Formation of Khakass Autonomous Region
Nov. 25- Dec. 7	Trial of the Industrial Party
Dec. 10	Formation of Koryak, Chukotka, Taimyr, Evenk, Ostyak-Vogul, Yamalo-Nenets, Vitimo-Olekma and Okhotsk national areas
1930	Opening of Chelyabinsk Power Station; industrial working of apatite deposits in Khibini Mountains, Kola Peninsula, begun; Leningrad Metal Works begins serial production of condenser turbines of 24,000 kw. and 50,000 kw. capacity
1931	
Jan. 1	Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works (Rostselmash) opened
Jan. 21	Decision of Council of Labour and Defence on the Plan for the Development of the Karaganda Coal-Field
Jan. 30.- Feb. 4	First All-Union Conference of Socialist Industrial Executives
Mar. 8-17	Sixth Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R.
Mar. 20	Decision of C.P.C. on Changes in the Credit System, Strengthening of Credit Allocations and Guarantee That All Economic Bodies Shall Be Run on Profitable Basis

Apr. 27	Opening of first Soviet blooming mill at the Izhora Works
Jun. 22-23	Conference of industrial executives organized by Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.)
Oct. 1	Production launched at reconstructed AMO Motor Works in Moscow (now the Likhachov Automobile Plant); first tractor produced at Orjonikidze Works, Kharkov (construction begun in 1930)
November 1931	Foundation of Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow GOELRO plan for the electrification of Russia fulfilled in all main points Borovoye-Karaganda Railway opened Japanese occupy Manchuria—new theatre of imperialist war created in the Far East
<i>1932</i>	
Jan. 1	Gorky Automobile Plant goes into production (construction begun in 1930)
Jan. 5	Decision of C.E.C. and C.P.C. to establish People's Commissariats for Heavy, Light and Timber Industries
Jan. 21	Treaty between U.S.S.R. and Finland on non-aggression and the peaceful regulation of conflicts
Jan. 31	Firing of the first blast-furnace at Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine (building of combine begun in 1929)
Feb. 5	Non-Aggression Pact between U.S.S.R. and Latvia
Mar. 20	Formation of Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R.
Mar. 24	First open-hearth furnace at Elektrostal Plant fired
Mar. 29	First State Ball-Bearing Plant in Moscow starts production
Apr. 3	Firing of first blast-furnace at Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine; first open-hearth furnace fired on September 18 (building begun in 1930)
Apr. 23	Berezniki Chemical Combine starts production Decision taken by Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Reconstitution of Literary and Art Organizations
May 4	Treaty on non-aggression and the peaceful regulation of conflicts concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Estonia
May-June	Beginning of the movement instituted by Nikita Izo- tov, a Donetsk miner, to teach new or backward work- ers their trades
Jul. 25	Non-Aggression Pact concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Poland
Aug. 7	Decision of C.E.C. and C.P.C. on the Protection of the Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms and Co-operatives and on the Consolidation of Public (Socialist) Property

Oct. 4	First coal-mine begins work at Vorkuta (North Pechora Coal-Field)
Oct. 10	Opening of the Lenin Power Station on the Dnieper
Nov. 29	Non-Aggression Pact concluded between U.S.S.R. and France
1932	Foundation of town of Komsomolsk-on-Amur Opening of Ishimbayevo oilfield, beginning of industrial working of North Urals oilfields, Organization of Writers' Union of U.S.S.R., Architects' Union of U.S.S.R., Composers' Union of U.S.S.R.
Feb. 15	¹⁹³³ Opening of First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers
Apr. 8	Decision of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) and C.P.C. on the Work of the Donets Basin Coal Industry
Jun. 20	White Sea-Baltic Canal opened
Jul. 15	Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant (Uralmash) starts production (building begun in 1928)
Jul. 28	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Spain
Aug. 11	First blast-furnace fired at Azovstal Plant in Mariupol (now Zhdanov)
Sept. 2	Treaty of Friendship, Non-Aggression and Neutrality between the U.S.S.R. and Italy
Nov. 16	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and U.S.A.
1933-1934	Arctic expedition of ice-breaker <i>Chelyuskin</i>
1933-1937	Second Five-Year Plan
Jan. 26- Feb. 10	¹⁹³⁴ Seventeenth Congress of C.P.S.U.(B.); Second Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy in 1933-1937 approved
Feb. 4	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Hungary
Apr. 16	Decision of C.E.C. of U.S.S.R. instituting highest award in U.S.S.R., title of Hero of the Soviet Union
May 7	Formation of Jewish Autonomous Region
Jun. 1	Urals Electrical Machinery Plant starts production
Jun. 9	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Rumania and between U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia
Jul. 23	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria
August	First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers; report made by A. M. Gorky on the tasks of Soviet literature

Sept. 17	Diplomatic relations established between U.S.S.R. and Albania
Sept. 18	U.S.S.R. enters League of Nations
Nov. 17	Decision of C.E.C. and C.P.C. on Second Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. (1933-1937)
Dec. 1	Murder of Sergei Kirov, outstanding leader of Communist Party and Soviet state
Dec. 7	Decision of C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. on Abolition of Ration Cards for Bread, Flour and Cereals and of the System of Grain Payments for the Purchase of Industrial Crops
Dec. 20	Formation of Mordovian A.S.S.R.
Dec. 28	Formation of Udmurt A.S.S.R.
1934	Stalinogorsk, 2nd Niva and Kemerovo power stations opened Barnaul Textile Mills start production
<i>1935</i>	
Jan. 28- Feb. 6	Seventh Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R.
Feb. 11-17	Second All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers; adoption of Model Rules for the Agricultural Co-operative
Mar. 23	Agreement between U.S.S.R. and Manchukuo on sale of Chinese Eastern Railway
May 2	Conclusion of Treaty of Mutual Assistance between U.S.S.R. and France
May 15	First line of Moscow Underground Railway (Metro) opened for traffic
May 16	Conclusion of Treaty of Mutual Assistance between U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia
Jul. 7	Decision of C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. on the Presentation of State Acts on the Use of the Land in Perpetuity to Collective Farms
Jul. 10	Decision of C.P.C. of the U.S.S.R. and Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on general plan for reconstruction of Moscow
Jul. 13	Conclusion of trade agreement with U.S.A.
Aug. 30-31	World record in coal-mining set up by Donets miner, Alexei Stakhanov, who cut 102 tons of coal in the Central Irmino Pit in six hours; this was 14 times the established quota and marked beginning of Stakhanov movement
Sept. 13	I. I. Gudov, milling-machine hand at Orjonikidze Engineering Works in Moscow, introduces innovations enabling him to set a record in labour productivity—820 per cent of quota set

- Sept. 17 Record set by A. Kh. Busygin, blacksmith at the Gorky Automobile Plant who forged 966 crankshafts instead of 675
- Sept. 21 N.S. Smetanin, a worker stitching uppers to soles at Skorokhod Footwear Factory in Leningrad, set a record of 1,400 pairs in one shift as a result of his own innovations
- Sept. 25 Decision of C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. and Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) To Reduce Bread Prices and Abolish Ration Cards for Meat, Fish, Sugar, Fats and Potatoes
- Nov. 14-17 First All-Union Stakhanovite Conference
- Nov. 25 Institution of the Badge of Honour
- Dec. 21-25 Plenary Meeting of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) discusses and adopts decision on work of industry and transport in connection with Stakhanov movement
- 1935 Dnieper Magnesium Works starts production; Urals Railway Carriage Works at Nizhny Tagil starts production; collective farmers Maria Demchenko, Marina Gnatenko, Anna Koshevaya and others harvested (in 1935) 500 centners of sugar-beet to the hectare and started Five-Hundred Movement; K. Borin starts movement for more productive use of harvester combines; two women tractor-drivers, P. Angelina and P. Kovardak, institute movement amongst women drivers for more productive use of tractors
- 1936*
- Jan. 29 Kama Paper Mills start production
- Feb. 11 Decision by C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. and Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on Improvements in Building and Reducing Building Costs
- Mar. 29 Prolongation of Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression between U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan
- May 15 Central Lenin Museum in Moscow opened
- Nov. 25-Dec. 5 Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets
- Dec. 5 Adoption of new Constitution of U.S.S.R. Kazakh and Kirghiz Autonomous Republics reformed as Union Republics; formation of Komi A.S.S.R., Mari A.S.S.R., North-Ossetian A.S.S.R., Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R. and Checheno-Ingush A.S.S.R.
- 1936 Klev Automatic Machine-Tool Plant starts production; Kostroma Linen Mills and first section of Tashkent Textile Combine start production

1937

- Apr. 28 Decision of C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. and Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Work of the Donets Coal-Industry; decision of C.P.C. on the Third Five-Year Plan for the National Economy (1938-1942)
- Jun. 18-20 Non-stop flight from Moscow across North Pole to Portland, U.S.A., by Heroes of the Soviet Union V.P. Chkalov, G. F. Baidukov and A. V. Belyakov
- Jul. 12-14 Non-stop flight from Moscow to San Jacinto, U.S.A., by Heroes of the Soviet Union M. M. Gromov, A. B. Yumashev and S. A. Danilin
- Jul. 15 Moskva-Volga Canal opened
- Aug. 21 Conclusion of a Non-Aggression Pact between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Republic
- Nov. 1 Decision by C.P.C. on Increased Wages for Low-Paid Factory and Office Workers in Industry and Transport
- Dec. 12 First elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. under the new Constitution
- 1937 Leningrad Metalworks produces turbine of 100,000 kw., 3,000 r.p.m.
- 1937-1938 The first Soviet scientific drifting station (I. D. Papanin, P. P. Shirshov, Y. K. Fyodorov and E. T. Krenkel) works on an ice-floe in the Arctic Ocean in the region of the North Pole

1938

- Jan. 12 Opening of First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., First Convocation
- Jul. 29-
Aug. 11 Red Army forces rout Japanese troops invading U.S.S.R. territory in the vicinity of Lake Hassan
- Oct. 17 Institution of the medals "For Valour" and "For Military Service"
- Nov. 14 Decision of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Organization of Party Propaganda in Connection with the Publication of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.), Short Course*
- November Balkhash Copper Refinery starts production
- Dec. 27 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the Institution of the title of Hero of Socialist Labour
- 1938-1942 Third Five-Year Plan
- 1938 Mari Paper Combine starts production
Second line of Moscow Underground Railway opened to traffic

1939

- Mar. 10-21 Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)

Apr. 29	Non-stop flight, Moscow-U.S.A., by V. Kokkinaki and M. Gordienko
May 11-Aug. 31	Japan's provocative attack on Mongolian People's Republic in the River Khalkhyn Gol area; Japanese forces driven back by Soviet and Mongolian troops
May 21-21. 27	Plenary Meeting of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) approves draft resolution of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) and C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. on Measures To Protect Collective-Farm Lands from Being Squandered
Aug. 1	Opening of All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow
Aug. 1-Sept. 15	Building of Ferghana Canal
Aug. 23	Soviet-German Treaty of Non-Aggression
Sept. 1	Extraordinary Fourth Session of Supreme Soviet adopts Law on Military Conscription
Sept. 17	Second World War begins; Germany attacks Poland Red Army takes lives and property of citizens of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia under its protection
Oct. 16	Institution of Gold Star Medal to be awarded to Heroes of the Soviet Union
Nov. 1-2	Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia accepted into U.S.S.R. as constituent parts of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian S.S.R.
Nov. 30, 1939 -Mar. 12, 1940	Soviet-Finnish War
<i>1940</i>	
Mar. 12	Soviet-Finnish Peace Treaty signed
Mar. 31	Karelian A.S.S.R. reformed as Karelo-Finnish S.S.R.
May 7	Decree by Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. introducing higher military ranks
May 22	Institution of the Hammer and Sickle gold medal for Heroes of Socialist Labour
Jun. 17	Fascist dictatorship in Lithuania overthrown and People's Government established
Jun. 20	Fascist dictatorship in Latvia overthrown and People's Government established
Jun. 21	Fascist dictatorship in Estonia overthrown and People's Government established
Jun. 28	Rumania returns Bessarabia and North Bukovina to Soviet Union
Jul. 21	Re-establishment of Soviet power in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia; formation of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics
Aug. 2	Formation of the Moldavian S.S.R.

Aug. 3-6	Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian S.S.R. accepted into the Soviet Union
Oct. 2	Decree of Presidium of Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. on the formation of state labour reserves
1940	Construction of Soroka-Obozerskaya railway line completed
<i>1941</i>	
Feb. 15-20	Eighteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U.(B.)
Apr. 5	Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression concluded
Apr. 13	Conclusion of Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact
Jun. 22	Perfidious attack by fascist Germany on Soviet Union; beginning of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against the German fascist invaders
Jun. 26	Air-Force Captain Nikolai Gastello's great feat and heroic death
Jun. 30	Formation of State Defence Committee under chairmanship of J.V. Stalin Introduction of food rationing
Jul. 12	Agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain on joint action in the war against fascist Germany
Aug. 10.	Heroic defence of Odessa
Oct. 16	Agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain on mutual deliveries, credits and payments
Aug. 25	Soviet note to Iranian Government on entry of Soviet troops into Iran according to Article 6 of the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921
Sept 29-Oct. 1	Moscow Conference of representatives of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A.
Oct. 1941- Jan. 1942	Battle of Moscow
Oct. 19	State of siege declared in Moscow from Oct. 20
Oct. 30, 1941- Jul. 3, 1942	Heroic defence of Sevastopol
Nov. 16	Heroes of the Panfilov division check German advance outside Moscow
Nov. 25	Note from Soviet Government to Ambassadors of all countries with whom Soviet Union maintained diplomatic relations on the shocking atrocities perpetrated by the German authorities on Soviet prisoners-of war
Nov. 29	Heroic deed and death of partisan girl, Y.C.L. member Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya
Dec. 6	Soviet forces on Western, Kalinin and South-Western fronts launch offensive; rout of German forces at Moscow
Dec. 29	Decision of C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. on the rehabilitation of the Moscow Coal-Field

- 1941
Urals Turbine Plant starts production; Engine-driver Lunin of the Novosibirsk Depot organizes current overhaul of locomotive by its crew; Lunin movement inaugurated
- 1942
- Jan. 1
Declaration of 26 countries on joint action against the axis countries (Germany-Italy-Japan) signed in Washington
- Jan. 6
Note from Soviet Government to all Ambassadors and Ministers of countries with whom the U.S.S.R. maintained diplomatic relations on the plunder, ruin of the civil population and monstrous atrocities of the German authorities on occupied Soviet territory
- May 1
Opening of all-Union socialist emulation of workers in industry to afford maximum aid to the front
- May 20
Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. introducing the Order of the Patriotic War, First and Second degrees
- May 26
Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain on alliance in the war against fascist Germany and her confederates in Europe and on co-operation and mutual assistance after the war, signed in London
- Jun. 11
Conclusion in Washington of an agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on the principles of mutual aid to be applied in the conduct of the war against aggression
- Jul. 10
Decision of C.P.C. and Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Creation of a Red Army Grain Fund from the 1942 Harvest
- Jul. 17, 1942-
Feb. 2, 1943
Battle of Stalingrad
- Jul. 29
Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the institution of the Order of Suvorov, 1st, 2nd and 3rd degrees, Order of Kutuzov, 1st and 2nd degrees, and Order of Alexander Nevsky
- September
Inception of the underground Komsomol organization in German-occupied Krasnodon, known as the Young Guard
- Nov. 2
Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. establishing an Extraordinary State Commission to establish and investigate the atrocities of the German fascist invaders and their accomplices
- Nov. 19-20
Soviet troops launch counter-offensive near Stalingrad
- Dec. 15
F. Golovaty, Saratov collective farmer, contributes 100,000 rubles from his savings to build an aircraft for the Soviet Air Force
- Dec. 22
Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the institution of the medals: Defence of Leningrad, Defence of Odessa, Defence of Sevastopol and Defence of Stalingrad

1942-1943	Raid by combined partisan contingents commanded by S. A. Kovpak from Bryansk Woods across the Dnieper
1943	
Jan. 12-18	Soviet troops on Leningrad and Volkhov fronts breach the line at Leningrad
Feb. 2	Institution of the Partisan of the Patriotic War Medal, 1st and 2nd degrees
Feb. 23	Heroic sacrifice of Y.C.L. member Alexander Matrosov, Guards Private
Apr. 4	Communiqué by the C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. on the results of the patriotic movement of the Soviet people who contributed over 7,000 million rubles to provide armaments for the Soviet Army and Navy
Jul. 5-Aug. 23	Battle of Kursk
Aug. 5	Orel and Belgorod liberated from German fascist invaders; first artillery salute in Moscow
Aug. 22	Publication of the decision by C.P.C. of U.S.S.R. and Central Committee of C.P.S.U.(B.) on Urgent Measures for the Rehabilitation of Economy in the Areas Liberated from German Occupation
1943, summer	Campaign in Carpathians of partisan contingents commanded by S. A. Kovpak
Sept. 3	Fascist Italy signs act of unconditional surrender; published on Sept. 8
Sept. 8	Liberation of Donets Basin from German fascist invaders completed
Oct. 10	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting Order of Bogdan Khmelnytsky, 1st, 2nd and 3rd degrees
Oct. 19-30	Moscow Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A.
Nov. 6	Soviet troops liberate Kiev, capital of the Ukraine
Nov. 8	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting Order of Victory and Order of Glory, 1st, 2nd and 3rd degrees
Nov. 28-Dec. 1	Tehran Conference of the Heads of the Allied States, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Great Britain
Dec. 12	Conclusion of a Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia on Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-war Co-operation
1943	New mines started in the Pechora Coal-Field
1944	
Jan. 14- Feb. 29	Defeat of German fascist troops at Leningrad and Novgorod; liberation of Leningrad Region

Jan. 27	Siege of Leningrad raised
January-February	Korsun-Shevchenkovsky operation of the Soviet Army; surrounding and destroying big German army group
Mar. 3	Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting Order of Ushakov, 1st and 2nd degrees, Order of Nakhimov, 1st and 2nd degrees, Ushakov and Nakhimov medals
Mar. 26	Soviet troops of 2nd Ukrainian Front reach Soviet frontier on River Prut.
Apr. 8	Soviet troops of 1st Ukrainian Front reach Soviet frontiers with Rumania and Czechoslovakia; operations carried beyond the territory of the Soviet Union
Apr. 10	Odessa liberated from German fascist occupation
April-May	Soviet Army liberates the Crimea from German fascist occupation
May 1	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting Defence of Moscow and Defence of the Caucasus medals
May 9	Liberation of Sevastopol from German fascist occupants
June 6	Anglo-American forces land on Normandy coast of France; beginning of "second front" in Europe
June 17	Rebuilt Stalingrad Tractor Plant starts production
Jun. 23-Jul. 28	Soviet Army's Byelorussian operation; liberation of the Byelorussian S.S.R. from the German fascist occupants
June	Defeat of the Finnish Army on the Karelian Isthmus; liberation of the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R.
Jul. 3	Liberation of Minsk, capital of the Byelorussian S.S.R., from German fascist occupants
Jul. 8	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting title of Mother-Heroine and Order of Mother Heroine, Maternal Glory Order, 1st, 2nd and 3rd degrees, and the Motherhood Medal, 1st and 2nd degrees
Jul. 13	Liberation of Vilnius, capital of the Lithuanian S.S.R., from German fascist occupants
Jul. 22	Diplomatic relations established between the U.S.S.R. and Syria
Aug. 3	Diplomatic relations established between the U.S.S.R. and the Lebanon
Aug. 20-Sept. 4	Jassy-Kishinev operation of the Soviet Army; surrounding and destroying a big German army group
Aug. 24-25	Rumania withdraws from war against U.S.S.R. and declares war on fascist Germany
Aug. 31	Soviet Army enters Bucharest, capital of Rumania
Sept. 4	Finland withdraws from war with U.S.S.R.

Sept. 7-8	Bulgaria withdraws from war with U.S.S.R. and declares war on fascist Germany
September-October	Soviet Army liberates greater part of territory of Baltic Republics from German fascist occupants
September 16	Soviet Army enters Sofia, capital of Bulgaria
Oct. 11	Tuva People's Republic joins U.S.S.R.; formation of the Tuva Autonomous Region of the R.S.F.S.R.
Oct. 13	Liberation of Riga, capital of the Latvian S.S.R., from German fascist occupants
Oct. 20	Soviet Army, jointly with the Yugoslav People's Army of Liberation, liberates Belgrade, capital of Yugoslavia, from German fascist occupants
Oct. 25	Re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Italy
October	Soviet Army liberates Pechenga (Petsamo) Region and Northern Norway from German fascist occupants
Dec. 10	Soviet-French Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance concluded in Moscow
1944	Raid by the 1st Ukrainian Kovpak Partisan Division in Poland, Western Byelorussia and Western Ukraine
1945	
Jan. 17	Soviet Army, jointly with Polish Army, liberates Warsaw, capital of Poland, from the German fascist occupants
Jan. 26	Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. awarding the city of Leningrad the Order of Lenin
Feb. 4-12	Crimean (Yalta) Conference of the Heads of the Three Allied States, U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and Great Britain
Feb. 13	Soviet Army routs Budapest group of the German fascist army and completely liberates Budapest, capital of Hungary, from German fascist occupation
Apr. 4	Soviet troops liberate Bratislava, chief city of Slovakia
Apr. 9	Soviet troops capture the city and fortress of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad)
Apr. 11	Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Co-operation signed in Moscow
Apr. 13	Soviet Army liberates Vienna, capital of Austria
Apr. 21	Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and Poland signed in Moscow
Apr. 25	United Nations Conference opens in San Francisco
May 2	Soviet Army captures Berlin, capital of Germany
May 8	Representatives of German Supreme Command at Karlshorst sign act of the unconditional capitulation of the German armed forces

May 9	National holiday—Victory Day over fascist Germany
May 9	Soviet troops liberate Prague, capital of Czechoslovakia, from German fascist invaders
May 9	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting "Victory over Germany in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945" Medal
Jun. 5	Declaration on the defeat of Germany and the assumption of supreme power by the Governments of the Four Allied Powers (U.S.S.R., Great Britain, U.S.A. and France) signed in Berlin
Jun. 6	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting "Valorous Labour during the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945" Medal
Jun. 24	Victory Parade on Red Square, Moscow
Jun. 29	Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia on the joining of Transcarpathian Ukraine to the Ukrainian S.S.R.
Jul. 17- Aug. 2	Berlin (Potsdam) Conference of the Heads of the three allied states—U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A.
Aug. 6	Diplomatic relations re-established between the U.S.S.R. and Rumania and Finland
Aug. 9- Sept. 2	The Soviet Union at war with imperialist Japan
Aug. 14	Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the U.S.S.R. and China signed in Moscow
Aug. 14-16	Diplomatic relations re-established between the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria
Aug. 16	Treaty on the Soviet-Polish state frontiers signed in Moscow between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Republic
Sept. 2	Japanese representatives sign act of unconditional surrender of the Japanese armed forces in Tokio
Sept. 13	Report of the Extraordinary State Commission on the amount of the material damage inflicted on the Soviet Union by the German fascist invaders
Sept. 25	Diplomatic relations re-established between the U.S.S.R. and Hungary
Sept. 30	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting the "Victory over Japan" Medal
Oct. 24	Charter of the United Nations comes into force
Nov. 10	Diplomatic relations established between the U.S.S.R. and Albania
Nov. 20, 1945- Oct. 1, 1946	Trial of chief German war criminals at Nuremberg
November 1945	Decision of the C.P.C. on the reconstruction of 15 of the oldest towns in the U.S.S.R. that had been devastated by the German fascist invaders
1945	First section of Vladimir Tractor Plant completed

1946

Jan. 18

First Session of the U.N.O General Assembly opened in London

Feb. 27

Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance and Agreement on Cultural and Economic Co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic signed in Moscow

Mar. 15

Law adopted reconstituting the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. as the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union and Autonomous Republics as Councils of Ministers of the Union and Autonomous Republics

Mar. 18

Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts law on the Five-Year Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. for 1946-1950

Apr. 12

First trade agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic signed

Jul. 29-Oct. 15

Paris Peace Conference

Sept. 19

Decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on Measures To Prevent Infringements of the Rules for the Agricultural Co-operative

1946-1950

Fourth Five-Year Plan

1947

Feb. 28

Decision of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on Measures To Ensure Post-War Progress in Agriculture published

Mar. 3

Lenin Dnieper Power Station rebuilt (first turbine started)

Mar. 10-

Moscow Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers

Apr. 24

Aug. 16

Saratov-Moscow gas pipeline completed

Aug. 29

Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. ratifies peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland concluded in Paris on February 10

Sept. 6

Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. awarding Moscow the Order of Lenin on the occasion of the celebration of city's 8th Centenary

Sept. 7

Celebration of Eighth Centenary of Moscow

Dec. 14

Decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the currency reform and the abolition of ration cards for food and industrial goods

1947

Foundation of the Academy of Arts of the U.S.S.R.
Leading workers initiate mass movement to raise labour productivity: Valentina Khrisanova, forewoman

1944

433

at Moscow Electric Lamp Factory, institutes organization of work by hour-to-hour time-table; A. Ivanov, engineer-technologist at Kirov Plant in Chelyabinsk, initiates scheme to raise productivity of each individual worker by means of "minor mechanization"

1948

- Feb. 4 Conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Rumanian People's Republic
- Feb. 18 Conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Hungarian People's Republic
- Mar. 18 Conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of Bulgaria
- Apr. 6 Conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Finland
- Apr. 10 Publication of a decision by the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on a New Reduction, from April 10, 1948, of Uniform State Retail Prices for Certain Goods
- Aug. 29 Rebuilding of Kharkov Tractor Plant completed

1949

- Jan. 25 Publication of the report on the establishment of the Council of Economic Mutual Aid (U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania); Albania joins Council in February; German Democratic Republic joins Council in October 1950
- Aug. 25 First All-Union Conference of the Partisans of Peace opened in Moscow
- Sept. 25 TASS reports atom bomb test in U.S.S.R

1950

- Feb. 14 Conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic
- Mar. 1 Publication of the decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the Transfer of the Ruble to the Gold Standard and Raising the Exchange Rate of the Ruble in Respect of Foreign Currencies
- July Collection in U.S.S.R. of signatures to the Stockholm appeal issued by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress on the prohibition of nuclear weapons
- Aug. 21 Publication of Council of Ministers' decision on the building of the Kulbyshev Power Station
- Aug. 31 Publication of Council of Ministers' decision on the building of the Stalingrad Power Station on the Volga

- Sept. 21 Publication of Council of Ministers' decision on the building of the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Power Station on the Dnieper and the South-Ukrainian and North-Crimean canals for the irrigation of arable land in those areas
- Dec. 28 Publication of Council of Ministers' decision on the building of the Volga-Don Canal and the irrigation of lands in Rostov and Stalingrad regions
- 1950 Transcaucasus Metallurgical Plant at Rustavi, Georgia, goes into production
G. Bortkevich (Leningrad), P. Bykov (Moscow) and V. Seminsky (Kiev), metal turners, achieve outstanding results in high-speed metal-cutting and propose revision of metal-cutting regimes and design of new types of machine tools
- 1951**
- Mar. 12 Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts law on the defence of peace
- 1951-1955 Fifth Five-Year Plan
- April 3-12 International Economic Conference in Moscow
- May 31 Opening of Volga-Don Ship Canal named after V. I. Lenin
- Jun. 6 Tsimlyanskaya Hydroelectric Power Station opened
- Oct. 5-14 Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.
- 1952 Soviet Union transfers Changchun Railway to the Chinese People's Republic
150,000 kw. hydrogen-cooled turbo-generator built at Leningrad Electrosila Plant
- Mar. 5 J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., died
- June Ust-Kamenogorsk Hydroelectric Power Station opened
- Aug. 8 Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts law on farm taxation
- Aug. 20 Government report on hydrogen bomb test in the U.S.S.R.
- Sept. 7 Decision by Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.
- Sept. 26 Publication of a decision by Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on measures to improve animal husbandry in the country and on reduced obligatory deliveries to the state from the personal holdings of collective farmers, factory and office workers

- Oct. 23 Publication of the decision by Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Trade
- Oct. 28 Publication of the decision by the Council of Ministers and Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the Extension of Production of Manufactured Consumers' Goods and the Improvement of Their Quality
- Oct. 30 Publication of the decision by Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on Extending the Production of Food Products and the Improvement of Their Quality

1954

- Jan. 25-
Feb. 18 Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin (the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France)
- Feb. 19 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the transfer of Crimean Region from the R.S.F.S.R. to the Ukrainian S.S.R.
- Mar. 2 Decision of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on Increased Grain Production in the Country and the Cultivation of Virgin and Disused Lands
- Apr. 26-Jul. 21 Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference
- May Celebration of Tercentenary of the Union of the Ukraine and Russia; Ukrainian S.S.R. and R.S.F.S.R. awarded the Order of Lenin
- Jun. 7-15 Eleventh Congress of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R.; new Trade-Union Rules adopted
- Jun. 27 First industrial atomic power station opened in the U.S.S.R.
- Aug. 1 All-Union Agricultural Exhibition opened in Moscow
- Aug. 17 Publication of the decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the Further Cultivation of Virgin and Disused Lands To Raise Grain Production
- Oct. 12 Joint Soviet-Chinese Declaration signed in Peking
- 1954 Last section of the Fourth Line of the Moscow Underground Railway opened to traffic (first section of that line opened on January 1, 1950)

1955

- Jan. 25 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the Cessation of a State of War Between the U.S.S.R. and Germany
- Jan. 25-31 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; decision on Increased Output of Live-stock Products
- Feb. 9 Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the establishment of direct contact between the parliaments of all countries

Mar. 9	Decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on Changes in Agricultural Planning Practice
May 14	Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the U.S.S.R. concluded in Warsaw
May 16-18	All-Union Conference of Industrial Executives in the Kremlin to discuss the introduction of the latest achievements of science, engineering and practical experience into industry
Jun. 2	Soviet-Yugoslav declaration signed in Belgrade
Jun. 22	Soviet-Indian joint declaration signed in Moscow
Jul. 4-12	Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to discuss problems of further progress in industry, technical advancement and better production organization, the results of the spring sowing, cultivation of the crops, the gathering of the harvest and ensuring the fulfilment of the plan for deliveries of farm produce to the state in 1955, the results of the Soviet-Yugoslav talks and the convocation of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U.
Jul. 18	Soviet-Viet-Nameese joint communiqué signed in Moscow
Aug. 9	Decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on Extension of the Rights of Directors of Industrial Enterprises
Aug. 23	Decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on Measures for the Further Industrialization of Building, the Improvement of Quality and Reduction of Costs
Sept. 9-13	Talks between U.S.S.R. and German Federal Republic in Moscow; establishment of diplomatic relations
Sept. 19	Soviet-Finnish communiqué; Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Finland of Apr. 6, 1948, prolonged for twenty years
Sept. 20	Treaty between U.S.S.R. and German Democratic Republic signed in Moscow
Nov. 2	First section of Gorky Hydroelectric Station opened
Nov. 3	Soviet-Burman joint declaration signed in Moscow
Nov. 15	First line of Leningrad Underground Railway opened to traffic
Nov. 16	Soviet-Norwegian communiqué signed in Moscow
Dec. 6	Soviet-Burman joint declaration signed in Rangoon
Dec. 13	Soviet-Indian joint declaration signed in Delhi
Dec. 18	Soviet-Afghan joint declaration signed in Kabul

Dec. 29	Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Power Station produced first current
<i>1956</i>	
Jan. 26	Final protocol of Soviet Union's transfer of the territory of Porkkala Udd to Finland signed in Helsinki
Feb. 14-25	Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U.
Feb. 29	Communiqué on the establishment of a Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. for the R.S.F.S.R. published
Mar. 6	Soviet-Danish communiqué signed in Moscow
Mar. 8	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on shorter working day for factory, professional and office workers on days preceding Sundays and holidays
Mar. 10	Publication of the decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the Rules of the Agricultural Co-operative and the Further Development of the Initiative of Collective Farmers in the Organization of Farm Production and Management
Mar. 10	Publication of the decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on Monthly Advances to Collective Farmers and Supplementary Remuneration for Work on the Collective Farms
Mar. 13	Publication of the decision of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the Improvement of the Work of Catering Organizations
Mar. 26	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on Extending Leave of Absence from Work for Expectant Mothers in the Pre-natal and Post-natal Periods
Apr. 3	Soviet-Swedish communiqué signed in Moscow
Apr. 26	Anglo-Soviet declaration signed in London
May 19	Soviet-French declaration signed in Moscow
May 26	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. establishing a six-hour working day for juveniles between 16 and 18 years of age
Jun. 3	Publication of the decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the transfer of enterprises in a number of branches of economy to the Union Republics and on measures to be taken in connection with it
Jun. 4	Opening of the All-Union Industrial Exhibition on the territory of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow

- Jun. 6 Decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to abolish tuition fees for the senior classes of secondary schools, secondary special schools and higher educational establishments of the U.S.S.R.
- Jun. 20 Soviet-Yugoslav joint declaration signed in Moscow
- Jun. 30 Decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences
- Jul. 14 Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts Law on State Pensions
- Jul. 16 Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts law on the reconstitution of the Karelian-Finnish S.S.R. as the Karelian A.S.S.R. and its inclusion in the R.S.F.S.R.
- Message on disarmament addressed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to the parliaments of all countries
- Aug. 16 Decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the Irrigation of the Golodnaya (Hungry) Steppe in the Uzbek S.S.R. and the Kazakh S.S.R. to increase cotton production
- Sept. 6 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. by which the International Stalin Prizes are renamed the International Lenin Prizes for Strengthening Peace Between the Peoples
- Sept. 8 Publication of the decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on Lenin Prizes for Outstanding Works in the Fields of Science, Engineering, Literature and Art
- Decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on Increasing the Wages of Low-Paid Factory and Office Workers; decree raising minimum taxable wages
- Sept. 11 Soviet-Indonesian joint declaration signed in Moscow
- Oct. 10 Collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms delivered or sold to the state amounts of grain as follows: Kazakhstan—21.5 million tons, R.S.F.S.R.—38.4 million tons
- Oct. 17-19 All-Union conference of industrial rationalizers, inventors and innovators held in the Kremlin
- Oct. 19 Soviet-Japanese declaration on the reaching of agreement on the cessation of war between the Soviet Union and Japan and on the establishment of diplomatic and consular relations
- Oct. 20 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the institution of the "Opening of Virgin Lands" Medal

- Oct. 30 Declaration by the Government of the U.S.S.R. on the basis for the development and further strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and other socialist states
- Soviet-Afghan communiqué signed in Moscow
- Nov. 2 Soviet-Belgian communiqué signed in Moscow
- Nov. 5 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the award of the Order of Lenin to the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League for the self-sacrificing work of Y.C.L.'ers and young Soviet men and women in the cultivation of virgin and disused lands
- Nov. 18 Soviet-Polish joint declaration signed in Moscow
- Dec. 3 Soviet-Rumanian declaration on negotiations signed in Moscow
- Dec. 17 Soviet-Polish communiqué and Treaty on the Legal Status of Soviet Troops Temporarily Quartered on Polish Territory, signed in Warsaw
- Dec. 20-24 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. discusses questions of completing the work of elaborating the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the line to be taken in fixing precise targets for 1956-1960 and the economic plan for 1957; the improvement of economic management in the U.S.S.R.
- 1956 Four-hundred kilovolt transmission line, 900 km. long, from Kuibyshev Power Station to Noginsk sub-station near Moscow, opened
- 1957**
- Jan. 7 Soviet-German (G.D.R.) joint declaration signed in Moscow
- Jan. 18 Soviet-Chinese joint declaration signed in Moscow
- Jan. 29 Soviet-Czechoslovak joint declaration signed in Moscow
- Feb. 11 Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts laws on the Transfer of the Rights of Legislature on Judicial Affairs within the Union Republics, the Acceptance of the Civil, Criminal and Procedure Codes to the Jurisdiction of the Union Republics and the Transfer of Jurisdiction in Matters Concerning Regional, Territorial Administrative Divisions to the Union Republics
- Feb. 13-14 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the Further Improvement in the Organization of Industrial and Building Management
- Feb. 20 Soviet-Bulgarian declaration signed in Moscow
- Mar. 14 Publication of the agreement between the Soviet Government and the Government of the G.D.R. on questions connected with the temporary quartering of Soviet troops on the territory of the G.D.R.

Mar. 28	Soviet-Hungarian declaration signed in Moscow
Apr. 17	Soviet-Albanian declaration signed in Moscow
Apr. 19	Decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on State Loans Subscribed to by the Working People of the Soviet Union
April-May	President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., K. Y. Voroshilov, visits China, Indonesia, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Mongolian People's Republic
May 10	Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts law on the further improvement in the organization of industrial and building management
May 15	Soviet-Mongolian joint declaration signed in Moscow
May 16	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the institution of a medal "In Memory of the 250th Anniversary of Leningrad"
May 27	Soviet-Hungarian agreement on the legal status of Soviet troops temporarily quartered on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic signed in Budapest
Jun. 12	Soviet-Finnish communiqué signed in Helsinki
Jun. 22-29	Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. takes decision on the anti-Party group—G. M. Malenkov, L. M. Kaganovich and V. M. Molotov
Jun. 23	Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of Leningrad
Jul. 4	Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the Abolition of Obligatory Deliveries of Farm Produce to the State by Collective Farmers and Factory and Office Workers
Jul. 16	Soviet-Czechoslovak communiqué signed in Prague
Jul. 28-Aug. 11	Sixth World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow
Jul. 30	Soviet-Afghan joint communiqué signed in Moscow
Jul. 31	Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the Development of Housing Construction in the U.S.S.R.
Aug. 6	Soviet-Syrian communiqué signed in Moscow
Aug. 13	Soviet-German (G.D.R.) declaration signed in Berlin
Aug. 20	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. awarding Soviet trade unions the Order of Lenin to mark the 50th Anniversary of the foundation of the first revolutionary trade unions in Russia
Aug. 23	Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. instituting the Commission of Soviet Control of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

- Aug. 27 TASS publishes report of the successful tests of intercontinental ballistic rockets and of the test explosions of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons
- Aug. 29 Decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the transfer of further questions of economic and cultural significance to the jurisdiction of Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics
- Sept. 12 The C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. adopt decision to draw into industry and agriculture young people graduated from secondary schools
- Sept. 19 Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. adopts decision on the foundation of the Mordovian State University
- Sept. 27 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. awarding the Adygei Autonomous Region the Order of Lenin to mark the 400th Anniversary of the voluntary union of the Adygei people with Russia; decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the award of the Order of Lenin to the Karachai-Cherkess Autonomous Region to mark the 400th Anniversary of the voluntary union of Karachai-Cherkessia with Russia
- Oct. 1 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. awarding the Order of Lenin to the Yakut A.S.S.R. to mark the 325th Anniversary of the entry of Yakutia into the Russian state
- Oct. 4 Launching of the world's first artificial earth satellite—Sputnik I
- Oct. 13 Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. adopts a decision founding the Daghestan State University
- Nov. 3 Second artificial earth satellite, Sputnik II, with an animal on board, launched
Report published on the building of a new high-speed passenger plane TU-114 Publication of report on Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and its discussion of the improvement of Party political work in the Soviet Army and Navy on which decisions were taken
- Nov. 6 Jubilee Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; session heard report by N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., on Forty Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution; leaders of delegations from socialist countries delivered messages of greeting; the Supreme Soviet adopted message to the Peoples of the Soviet Union and to All Working People, Politicians and Public Men, Representatives of Science and Culture, Parliaments and Governments of all Countries of the World
- Nov. 14-16 Meeting of the representatives of 12 Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow; meeting adopts a Declaration

- Nov. 16-19 Meeting of representatives of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow; the meeting adopted a Peace Manifesto addressed to the working people of the whole world
- Dec. 5 Atomic ice-breaker *Lenin*, 16,000 tons burthen, launched in Leningrad
- Dec. 14 Decree by Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. abolishing the following all-union ministries: Aircraft Industry, Defence Industry, Radio-Engineering Industry, Shipbuilding, and establishing the following State Committees of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.: Aircraft Engineering, Defence Engineering, Electronic Engineering and Shipbuilding
- Dec. 16-17 Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. discusses questions concerning the work of trade unions
- Dec. 18 Decree by Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. annulling the tax levied on unmarried citizens of the U.S.S.R. and on those with small families in respect of factory and office workers and others with children and also in respect of childless unmarried women
- Dec. 21 Publication of Soviet-Syrian communiqué on the visit of a government delegation from the Syrian Republic to the U.S.S.R.
- 1958**
- Jan. 9 Decision by the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. founding the Novosibirsk State University
- Feb. 3 Decision by the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. founding a permanent All-Union Building Exhibition
- Feb. 12 Regular traffic employing TU-104 aircraft opened on Moscow-Vladivostok route
- Feb. 18-19 All-Union Conference of Cotton-Growers in Moscow
- Feb. 25-26 Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. at which N. S. Khrushchov reported on the Further Development of the Collective-Farm System and the Reorganization of the Machine and Tractor Stations
- Mar. 31 First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Fifth Convocation, adopts Law on the Further Development of the Collective-Farm System and the Reorganization of the Machine and Tractor Stations
- Apr. 1 Decision adopted by the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on the introduction of a 7-8-hour working day and the regulation of wages for workers and office employees in a number of branches of the heavy industries in 1958
- Apr. 9 Joint declaration on the results of negotiations between Party and government delegations of the Hungarian People's Republic and the U.S.S.R. signed in Bu-

	dapest; publication of communiqué on the completion of negotiations between government delegations of the U.S.S.R. and the German Federal Republic
Apr. 10-12	All-Union Building Conference in Moscow
Apr. 18	Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the further development of the collective-farm system and the reorganization of machine and tractor stations
May 4	Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on measures to improve the planning of economy
May 5	Decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on an All-Union Census in 1959
May 6-7	Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. at which N. S. Khrushchev reported on the Acceleration of the Development of the Chemical Industry and Especially of the Production of Synthetic Materials and Articles Made from Them, To Meet the Needs of the Population and the Needs of the National Economy
May 12-16	All-Union conference on the complex mechanization and automation of production processes held in Moscow
May 15	Sputnik III launched
May 15	Joint declaration signed in Moscow by the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the United Arab Republic on the results of negotiations during President Gamal Abdel Nasser's visit to the U.S.S.R.
May 20-23	Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance
May 27	Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the introduction of a 7-hour working day for workers at power stations, power and heating transmission networks and institutions for the repair and maintenance of power station and transmission line equipment
May 28	Decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on Correcting Errors in the Estimation of the Operas <i>Great Friendship</i> , <i>Hogdan Khmelnytsky</i> and <i>From the Bottom of the Heart</i>
May 30	Soviet-Finnish communiqué signed in Moscow at time of President Kekkonen's visit to the U.S.S.R.
May	Congress of Soviet Soil Scientists
Jun. 15	Publication of decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the further extension and acceleration of the work of irrigating and cultivating the Golodnaya (Hungry) Steppe in the Uzbek S.S.R., the Kazakh S.S.R. and the Tajik S.S.R.

- Jun. 17-18 Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. (report by N. S. Khrushchov on the abolition of obligatory deliveries to the state and payment in kind for MTS work and on the new arrangements, prices and conditions for the delivery of farm produce to the state)
- Jun. 20 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. awarding the Udmurt A.S.S.R. the Order of Lenin to commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the voluntary union of Udmurtia with Russia
- June 23 Soviet-Nepalese communiqué signed in Moscow on the occasion of the state visit to the U.S.S.R. by the King and Queen of Nepal
- Jul. 9 Decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions confirming the Instructions on Permanent Production Conferences at Industrial Enterprises, Building Sites, State Farms, MTS and Repair and Maintenance Stations
- Jul. 12 Communiqué on the visit of A. Novotný, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Republic, signed in Moscow
- Jul. 24 Soviet-Austrian communiqué on the visit to the U.S.S.R. of the Austrian government delegation, signed in Moscow
- Jul. 29 Decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. reconstituting the Kalmyk Autonomous Region as the Kalmyk A.S.S.R.
- Aug. 3 Communiqué on the meeting between N. S. Khrushchov and Mao Tse-tung, signed in Peking
- Aug. 18 Traffic opened on new international airline Moscow-Delhi
- Aug. 30 Publication of decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the development of the Soviet gas industry
- Sept. 5 Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. (to discuss the question of convening the extraordinary Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U. to examine the control figures for the development of the U.S.S.R. national economy in the 1959-1965 period)
- Sept. 7 Opening of first section of new atomic power station of 100,000 kw. (full capacity of station when completed will be 600,000 kw.)
- Sept. 8 Publication of communiqué on the exchange of representatives between U.S.S.R. and Kingdom of Morocco
- Sept. 11 Publication of Rules for the Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization
- Sept. 20 Eighth and last section of Irkutsk Hydroelectric Power Station goes into production

- Oct. 17-19 Celebration of 1500th Anniversary of the foundation of Tbilisi
- Nov. 4 Decision of C.C. of the C.P.S.U., Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on the introduction of a shorter working day and regulation of wages for workers and office employees in machine-building, oil and gas enterprises
- Nov. 10 Soviet-Polish declaration on the occasion of the visit of a delegation from the Polish People's Republic, signed in Moscow
- Nov. 12 Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. (Agenda: 1. Draft Theses for Report by N. S. Khrushchov to the Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U. on Control Figures for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. for the 1959-1965 period; 2. On Bringing the School Closer to Economic Requirements and on the Further Development of the Public Education System of the U.S.S.R.)
- Dec. 19 Decision adopted by Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on Results of the Development of Agriculture During the Past Five Years and Problems of the Further Increase of Agricultural Output
- Dec. 24 Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Fifth Convocation, adopts law on Bringing the School Closer to Economic Requirements and on the Further Development of the Public Education System of the U.S.S.R.
- Dec. 25 Decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the cessation of atom and hydrogen bomb tests and on the Berlin question; Law Confirming the Basis of Criminal Legislation in the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republics, Law on Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes and others adopted
- 1959**
- Jan. 2 Launching of world's first space rocket in the direction of the moon that became first artificial planet of solar system
- Jan. 27-Feb. 5 Extraordinary Twenty-First Congress of C.P.S.U.
- Jun. 24-29 Plenary Meeting of C. C of the C.P.S.U. The Meeting issued a directive on the Work of Party Organizations, Soviet Government Bodies and Economic Councils in Fulfilment of the Decisions of the 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U. To Accelerate Technical Progress in Industry and Building
- Sept. 12 Soviet space rocket launched in the direction of the moon.
- Sept. 14 Soviet space rocket reached moon at 00 hours, 02 min., 24 sec., Moscow time
- Sept. 15—27 Visit of N. S. Khrushchov, Head of Soviet Government, to the U.S.A.

Sept. 18

N. S. Khrushchov, Head of Soviet Government, addresses U.N. General Assembly and tables Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament

Oct. 7

The hitherto unseen and unexplored side of the moon photographed by Soviet space rocket and photographs transmitted by radio to earth

Dec. 22-25

Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. which promulgated concrete measures for the further development of agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

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